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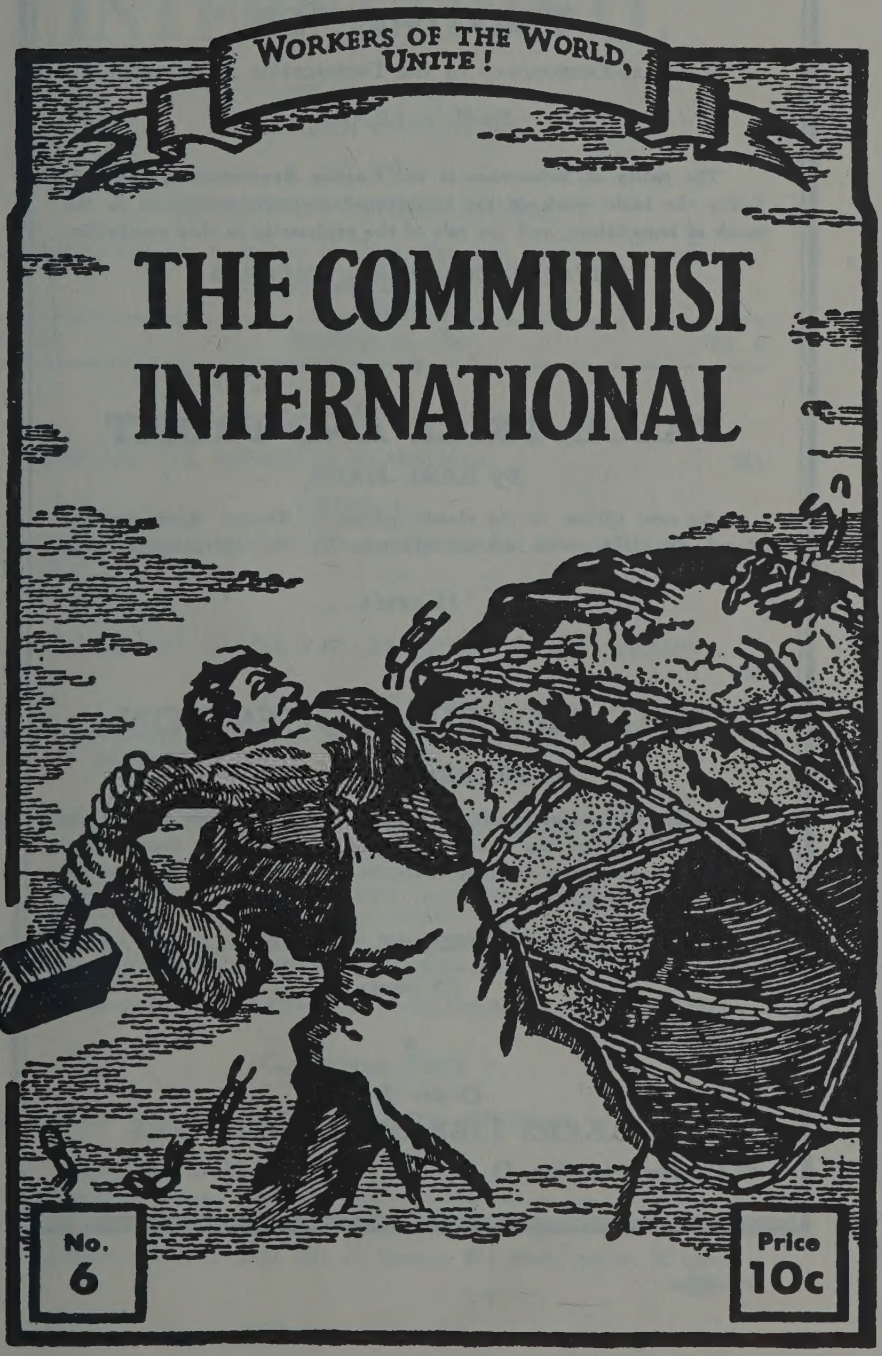

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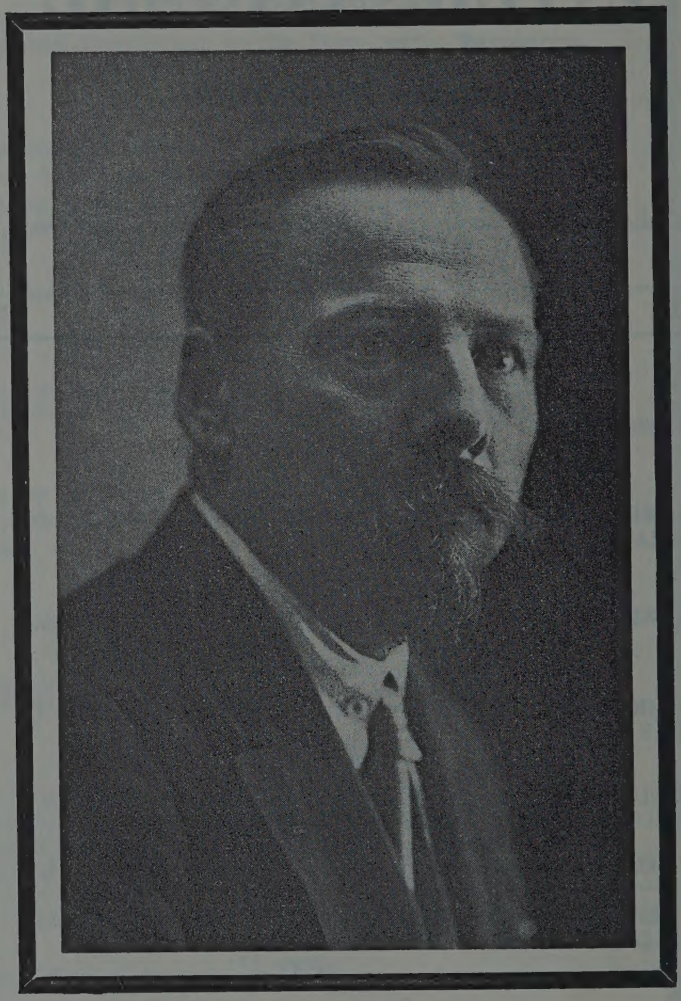

V. S. MITSKIEVICZ-KAPSUKAS

In Memoriam
V. S. Mitskievicz-Kapsukas

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International regrets to announce the death of Comrade V. S. Mitskievicz-Kapsukas, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, one of the founders and leaders of the Communist Party of Lithuania, an old and faithful revolutionary who worked tirelessly for many years in the international Communist movement.

Death took place on Feb. 17, 1935, after a long and severe illness.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. regrets to announce the death of Comrade Vincent Semenovich Mitskievicz-Kapsukas, an old Bolshevik, a prominent worker in the Lithuanian revolutionary movement, and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. (Reprinted from the *Pravda*.)

Comrade Mitskievicz, a tried and faithful revolutionary, is dead. The name of Comrade Mitskievicz is widely known not only to the toilers of Lithuania, in whose struggle he took a prominent part, but also to the workers of the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries, as the name of one of the foremost fighters of the world Communist movement. The path travelled by Comrade Mitskievicz was the path of an exemplary proletarian revolutionary. It was one of long and difficult years of underground work, imprisonment, exile to Siberia, emigration, the struggle against the social-patriots during the imperialist war, the struggle for Soviet Power and the leadership during the civil war of the power set up by the toilers of Lithuania and White Russia; and, finally, many years of untiring work in leading positions in the international Communist movement.

A good comrade and leader, thoughtful and reliable, always fighting irreconcilably for the line of the Party, Comrade Mitskievicz won the love and respect of all who worked with him, and of all who knew him.

By his tireless work, by his example, and by his pedagogical activity, he created new forces, new generations of Communists. By his revolutionary experience he served not only the Lithuanian proletariat and their party, but also other Communist Parties.

Eternal memory to a fighter, comrade and friend,

DIMITROFF, PIATNITSKY, KUUSINEN, MANUILSKY, YAROSLAVSKY, KNORIN, WAN MING, GOTTWALD, KOLAROV, ERCOLI, BRONKOVSKY, RICHTER, ANGARETIS, VASSARD, KONSIN, BELA KUN, LOSOVSKY, CHEMODANOV, HECKERT, McILHONE, GROSSMAN, ISKROV, FERDI, SHERMAN, KRUMIN, VASSILIEV, DE LOEW, DENGEL, MANNER, BASHKOVICH, VARGA, FELIX KON, SOLTZ, TSHAKAYA, BOGUTSKY, SIROLLA, MATES, IGNAS, KIRSANOVA, ABRAMOV, FRUMKINA, ELINA TAUTKUS.

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland expresses its profound sorrow and sympathy regarding the death of Comrade Mitskievicz-Kapsukas.

In Comrade Mitskievicz-Kapsukas we lose one of our best and closest friends, linked up with us not only by the closeness and community of the struggle of the Lithuanian and Polish proletariat, but also by years of firmly welded joint activity both during the tsarist regime and during the civil war and the Polish White Guard intervention against the Soviet Union, and finally, during the period of the leading activity of Comrade Mitskievicz-Kapsukas in the Comintern, when he always helped us with his advice and his support.

We, therefore, feel this great loss with particular force.

Eternal memory to our dear friend and leader.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND.

OUR DEAR COMRADE IS DEAD

On February 17, after a long and severe illness, the death occurred of our dear Comrade V. Mitskievicz-Kapsukas, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of Lithuania and member of the E.C.C.I. Comrade Mitskievicz was one of the organizers of the Communist Party of Lithuania and one of its tireless fighters and leaders. His name was widely known throughout Lithuania.

We see him in the front ranks of the fighters against the tsarist regime, as the leader and organizer of the workers of Lithuania. Comrade Kapsukas was especially popular among the agricultural laborers of Lithuania. In 1905 he actively participated in the leadership of the first general strike of agricultural laborers in Lithuania. Thanks to his energetic work, the strike embraced wide sections of workers, and ended in a great victory for them.

Comrade Kapsukas was subjected to persecution by the tsarist government for his revolutionary activity. He was repeatedly arrested, served sentences in a number of prisons, was condemned to many years of penal servitude, and was exiled to Siberia. Prisons, exile and emigration undermined his health but could not crush his revolutionary spirit.

After escaping from prison and exile, Comrade Kapsukas returned to his revolutionary work with renewed energy. During the imperialist war he came forward as a fighter against the social chauvinists who betrayed the interests of the working class, and as a fighter for Soviet Power.

After the February Revolution, Comrade Mitskievicz-Kapsukas returned from abroad to St. Petersburg, where he continued to carry on a tireless struggle against the Lithuanian social patriots who were trying to lead the Lithuanian workers in Russia along the Menshevik path. After the revolution in Germany, Comrade Kapsukas was sent to Vilna which was then occupied by the Germans, and where a fierce struggle was taking place for Soviet Power. In October, 1918, while Vilna was still occupied, Comrade Mitskievicz stood at the head of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government, and after the victory of the proletarian revolution in Lithuania, he was elected Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

Comrade Kapsukas was one of the organizers of the Communist Party in Lithuania. When he was still a member of the Social-Democratic Party in Lithuania, he belonged to its Left wing. During the imperialist war, when he emigrated, first to Scotland and then to America, he sought for means whereby to link up with the workers of Lithuania and to carry on the struggle in their ranks against the social patriots who were in unison with the Lithuanian bourgeoisie, who in their turn had sold themselves to the German army of occupation.

In 1918, contacts were established with the workers of occupied Lithuania. Comrade Kapsukas took an active part in the organization of the Communist groups in Lithuania. Comrade Kapsukas did not stop his active work right up to the time when sickness confined him to his bed, but even here he made every effort to continue his work.

In Comrade Mitskievicz-Kapsukas, the Communist Party of Lithuania and all the toilers of Lithuania have lost one of the best and most tireless fighters for the interests of the working class, for the cause of Communism. They have lost their organizer and leader. We who remain at our posts can assure you, dear comrade, that the cause to which you devoted the whole of your life will be carried to its conclusion under the leadership of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

ANGARETIS, MATAS, IGNAS, BALIS, VINTSAS, GASHKA, KAZIS, YADVIGA, SASHA EDWARDAS, PYATRAS.

A Congress Which Has Begun a New Epoch of Soviet Democracy

THE Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets summed up the results of the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and opened up a new epoch of Soviet democracy. The whole of the work of the Congress was carried on with a comparison made between two lines of world development, namely, the line of development of the socialist world, and of the capitalist world.

On the eve of the Sixth Congress of Soviets, Comrade Stalin delivered a speech at the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in which he pointed to the fact that an historic change had taken place in the development both of the capitalist countries and of the U.S.S.R., but a change taking two opposite directions.

> "While the turn for the U.S.S.R.," said he, "meant a turn towards a new and more important economic *advance*, for the capitalist countries it meant a turn towards economic *decline*. Here in the U.S.S.R., there is *increasing progress* in Socialist construction, both in industry and in agriculture. In the capitalist countries, there is a *growing* economic crisis, both in industry and in agriculture."

More than four years have passed since this turning point; years of uninterrupted struggle between the two antagonistic social systems (a struggle which does not, however, exclude a certain collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries, a certain collaboration for the maintenance of peace). And the further events advance, the more powerfully has this contrast between the two lines of development displayed itself.

TWO LINES OF DEVELOPMENT

In the U.S.S.R. during the recent years, the Five-Year Plan has been fulfilled in four years and a classless socialist society is being successfully constructed there. The U.S.S.R. which was a backward and agrarian country in the past, has been transformed into an advanced country, with highly developed industry, has become transformed into a country of metallurgy, heavy engineering, tractor construction, etc. Unemployment has been abolished and poverty has vanished from the villages once and for all. The kulaks have been crushed, and the petty-commodity peasant farms have in their overwhelming majority been reorganized into artels (collective farms) on socialist lines. The collective farm system has been victorious finally and irrevocably, and this implies that the basic masses of the peasantry have finally, under the leadership of the proletariat, severed themselves from capitalism, and taken the path to socialism. At the Seventeenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin summed up the results of these all-round and ever-growing developments in the U.S.S.R., and was already able to declare that "the socialist system is the only dominant and the only commanding force throughout the whole of our national economy". As against this upsurge

and the socialist reconstruction taking place in the U.S.S.R., the position in the capitalist countries is that an economic crisis is raging, which is unheard-of in its depth and its devastating after-effects. Class contradictions are growing sharper. In a number of countries the preconditions of a revolutionary crisis, the preconditions for the proletarian revolution are ripening. At the same time the dominant classes are reorganizing their ranks and attempting to head off the proletarian revolution, by passing over to open fascist methods of government. Fascist Germany and the military fascist cliques in Japan have taken the path of open preparations for war against the Soviet Union, while Japan has seized Manchuria and Northern China. The threat of a new imperialist war, and primarily of war against the Soviet Union, hangs over the world as an immediate danger. At the Seventeenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin summed up the results of the decline in the capitalist system which is growing deeper in all capitalist countries (in spite of the fact that the economic crisis began in 1932 to pass over into a depression of a special character) and declared that:

> ". . . . the victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration—it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war."

The estimation made by the Bolsheviks of the historic moves being made on the international arena was that there was *an increase in the power of socialism, a growth of the forces of the proletarian revolution, and the weakening of the forces of the bourgeoisie*, in spite of their temporary victory over the proletariat in a number of countries. As opposed to this estimate the Social-Democratic leaders, as is well known, prophesied that "a counter-revolutionary epoch", a lengthy period of the undivided domination of fascism, was coming on, and advanced as a reality two illusory dreams of the capitalists regarding the beginning of "a thousand years of the domination of fascism".

THE BOLSHEVIK ESTIMATE CONFIRMED

But only a year has passed since the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. was held, and the line of the Communists has been splendidly confirmed, while that of the Social-Democratic leaders has been smashed to bits by the whole process of historic development, and particularly by such tremendous events as the armed struggle in Austria, the armed battles in Spain, which grew into an uprising and the struggle for Soviets in Asturias, the revolutionary upsurge in the U.S.A., the growth of the national liberation movement in the colonial countries, and what is of exceptional importance, the important successes achieved by the Communist Parties in the struggle for the united front against fascism, the danger of war, and the capitalist offensive.

And at the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets, the Bolsheviks were fully justified in pointing *to the further steps taken by capitalism*

towards its downfall, and to the speeding up of the development of the world revolutionary crisis, which finds its most powerful mainstay in the growing power of socialism in the Soviet Union.

As far back as the First All-Union Congress of Soviets Comrade Stalin set before the Soviet State the mighty task of "developing into a serious international force, capable of influencing the international situation, and of altering it in the interest of the toilers". This task has now been translated into life.

Now in his report made to the Congress, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Comrade Molotov, contrasted in full the two lines of world development and posed the question of the importance in principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and of its importance, "*as a State which is growing uninterruptedly* in the economic and cultural spheres, and as the only State untroubled by crises".

And this is really so. For six years we have seen the continuation of the world economic crisis of capitalism, which has developed on the background of the sharpening general crisis of the capitalist system. In spite of the fact that the crisis has passed into a depression of a special kind, the capitalist countries have *not emerged from the economic crisis.* For the growth of industrial production in the years 1933-34 was only so by comparison with the lowest point reached in 1932.

As for the economy of the U.S.S.R., it has been all this time uninterruptedly on the upsurge. And it is precisely in the year 1934, that it achieved its victory in respect to the metallurgical industry, which Comrade Orjonikidze (Commissar for Heavy Industry) reported to the Congress, a victory expressed in the fact that the U.S.S.R. has assumed first place in Europe as far as the production of pig iron is concerned, having reached a figure which is 208 per cent of the 1930 figures. Comrade Orjonikidze was able to report that in these years when capitalism was undergoing a very deep economic crisis "heavy industry in our country has uninterruptedly continued its triumphant march forward, and has increased its production by comparison with 1928 *by more than four times,*" whereas the U.S.A. remains on a level equal to 67 per cent of 1927, Germany 81 per cent, France 84 per cent, and Great Britain 104 per cent.

These successes expose the demagogic statement uttered by Hitler at the Congress of Labor held in Berlin on the sixteenth of April, 1934, to the effect that "Soviet Russia calls to mind a person who is traveling in a bog, and who clings to the arm of a strong man", *i.e.,* is dependent for support on the capitalist States. Comrade Orjonikidze was fully justified in declaring that "all these boastful declarations made by Herr Hitler only bear witness to his complete ignorance in questions affecting the economic and technical growth of Europe in general, and of our country (the U.S.S.R.) in particular".

While a very deep agrarian crisis has continued to rage throughout the whole of the capitalist world and efforts have been made by the capitalist governments to artificially reduce agricultural production for the sake of enriching the large-scale landowners and kulaks, the U.S.S.R., thanks to the victory of the collective farm system in the village, is undergoing an all-round advance in agriculture, while in 1934 a turn took place, which indicated an advance in the sphere of cattle-breeding, a fact which enabled Comrade Molotov to declare that the recent decline

in cattle-breeding is "a stage passed by" as far as the Soviet Union is concerned.

THE RED ARMY

The general rise in the economy of the U.S.S.R. and the uninterrupted work of the government and the Party to increase the defensive power of the Soviet Union, have in their turn conditioned a speedy growth of the power of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, of its technical equipment, of tanks available and of aeroplane construction, of the defensive fortifications on the borders of the U.S.S.R., and a growth of the Soviet Navy.

The political might, and the revolutionary power of the Red Army are invincible. The Red Army sets itself the task of so learning how to utilize the technique at its disposal, that no other army in the world should be equal in this sphere to the strength of the Red Army. The task set is being successfully fulfilled.

The Army of the Soviet Union is a mighty instrument of peace. Under these circumstances, the German fascists or the Japanese military clique, who are the chief instigators of war, need to weigh very carefully the following words uttered by Comrade Stalin, before they dare to undertake an adventurous onslaught against the Soviet Union. At the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Comrade Stalin declared that:

> ". . . there can hardly be any doubt that a second war [Comrade Stalin had in view the intervention of the imperialist States in 1918-1920.—*Ed.*] will lead to the complete defeat of those undertaking such an offensive, to revolution in a number of countries in Europe and Asia, and to the destruction of the bourgeois landowning governments of these countries."

The two lines of world development are no less striking in the sphere of social relations.

THE CONTRAST IN SOCIAL RELATIONS

In spite of the fact that the economic crisis has passed into a depression, the astronomic figures of unemployment in the capitalist world do not decline. Everywhere in the capitalist countries there is a decline in the percentage of productively engaged workers, while in some countries, in the U.S.A. for instance, there is an absolute decline in the number of workers engaged in industry. The army of chronically unemployed, numbering millions, have no prospects whatsoever of ever again returning to production under capitalism. The passage to the depression is being brought about at the expense of the direct and indirect robbery of the workers (through the reduction of real wages by inflation, and the intensification of labor), and of the peasants, town petty bourgeoisie and of the oppressed colonial peoples. Alongside of this, tremendous profits were received in 1933, and especially in 1934, by the capitalist trusts, and even in the heaviest years of the crisis (1930-31), 32,000 million dollars were paid to the parasites and rentiers in the shape of dividends. The burden of militarism (which in Japan, for instance, amounts to almost half of the state budget) has never, since the first imperialist war, been so unbearable as far as concerns the toiling masses in the capitalist countries.

In the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, further transformations have taken place in the social structure, as a result of which the Soviet Union has become a socialist country not only because the foundation of socialist

economy has been constructed there, but also because the majority of the population have finally linked up their lives with socialism. The capitalist elements in the U.S.S.R. have almost completely been abolished in 1934, amounting altogether to 0.1 per cent of the total population, and numbering 174,000 people (while in 1928 the urban big and petty-bourgeoisie constituted 4.5 per cent of the total population). Comrade Molotov declared at the Seventh Congress that the bourgeois elements in the U.S.S.R. have remained "in the nature of some memory". The total number of proletarians (workers, office employees, etc.), on the other hand, has increased from 26 millions in 1928 to 47 millions on the first of January, 1934 (correspondingly their relation to the total population has increased from 17.3 per cent to 28.1 per cent). And the collective farmers and the handicraftsmen in the towns who have been drawn into cooperative forms of work, and who together constituted 2.9 per cent of the population in 1928, amounted to 45.9 per cent of the population in 1934, while the individual peasant sector in the village has been relegated to secondary position.

> "And so now we can say that *Nep* Russia has become transformed into socialist Russia.* Our country has become transformed. In the main the great task set by Lenin has been fulfilled. The vow given at Lenin's tomb eleven years ago by Comrade Stalin has been fulfilled." (Molotov).

The toilers of the Soviet Union, however, know that their socialist fatherland is growing wealthier, and that their standard of living is rising uninterruptedly.

The Second All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers bears clear witness to the tremendous steps taken by the Soviet Union in the direction of achieving a well-to-do and cultured life for all the toilers on the basis of socialism. But the main thing which both the Congress of Soviets and the All-Union Congress of "shock" collective farmers showed, was that tens and hundreds of thousands of talented organizers of the new life have arisen from among the masses of toilers. Wide masses of brigade leaders, tractorists, milk-maids, combine operators and farm directors have developed and continued to develop, people who but a few years ago had seen nothing further than their own little farm, and who are now learning to manage large scale socialist production and to think and to solve problems from the State, proletarian point of view, and to rise to participation in an active political and cultural life, on the basis of the collective farm socialist structure.

And the women collective farmers have also developed so far as to participate in the active struggle for socialism, for a life which is well-to-do, and for the achievement of Bolshevik collective farms. It is not so long since these women were forgotten and held down by the backward character of their farms and by lack of culture. But now they are in the front ranks of those who are building the new happy life of the collective farm. There is a point included in the new statutes recommended for the agricultural artels (collective farms), which entitles women engaged on collective farm work to two months' leave (prior to and after child birth, to be paid for out of the funds of the collective farms). Where in any capitalist country which cries about its "civilized character" and its "culture" are social measures possible on such a scale? Where can the peasant woman count on receiving but one-

---

* Soviet Russia of the period of the New Economic Policy, when the capitalist elements were allowed certain limited facilities for development.—*Ed.*

hundredth part of the care which she is receiving in the Soviet Union? Nowhere. Only in the U.S.S.R., in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the country where the toilers enjoy extensive democracy!

TWO LINES IN THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The two lines of world development are no less clearly displayed in the *national* question as well. Whereas capitalism seeks a way out by robbing the colonies (the seizure of Manchuria and the North of China by Japan, the war of Italian imperialism against Abyssinia, etc.), and in national oppression of every kind, the Bolshevik Party, armed with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the national question, brought about after the October Revolution the unification of the peoples of the former Tsarist Empire into the impregnable Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Successful steps are being taken to abolish the inequality of the nationalities which were formerly backward and oppressed, and which under Soviet Power have entered on a period of stormy economic development. An unheard of development is taking place of the culture of the numerous people which populate the U.S.S.R., culture which is national in form and Socialist in content. Whereas in the colonial countries we see the ripening of the revolutionary hatred of the toiling masses against the imperialist oppressors, and the growth of national liberation wars, as well as the growth and the development of the Chinese Soviet State and the heroic Chinese workers' and peasants' army, at the same time the peoples of the U.S.S.R. who joined together on a voluntary basis are full of revolutionary Soviet patriotism. And this Soviet patriotism is the clearest expression of the tremendous international importance of the proletarian dictatorship, which is the mainstay of the world proletarian revolution.

At the Congress dozens of delegations of the national republic that constitute the U.S.S.R. gave reports about the victories they were achieving. Delegations from the Ukraine, Georgia, Tadjikstan and Tataria brought figures to show that the path traversed by the peoples of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party is the path of the development of their socialist industry, of the establishment of mighty industrial states. This is a path where for instance the engineering industry of the Ukraine which in 1912 produced commodities valued at 83 million roubles, in 1934 under Soviet Power had a total production of 2,200 million roubles. This is the path where the best among the collective farmers, shock workers on the collective farms in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus and other regions in the U.S.S.R., each earned 2½ to 3 tons of grain and 1,500-2,000 roubles of clear income for the labor days* earned during the year. The best collective farmers in the Karbardino-Balkar region earned 4,700 poods (about 80 tons) of agricultural products for the year 1934. This is the path where during the last two years about 250,000 collective farm women have been advanced to responsible positions, while the circulation of the central and regional newspapers in the Ukraine amounts to two millions.

And the other path along which, for instance, the Polish imperialists have compelled the Ukrainian people in the Polish state to take, is the path along which the Ukraine is transformed into an agrarian and

---

* A labor day is the norm of work per day fixed to be done by each collective farmer. Work done above or less than this norm is counted as a fraction more or less of a "lebor day" to the credit of the collective farmer. The share of the collective farmer in the net income of the collective farm is calculated on the basis of the number of labor days he has to his credit in the course of the year.—*Ed.*

raw material appendage of Poland. It is the path of poverty, unemployment, of a half-starved existence, and of mass executions. It is the path where the national culture of the Ukraine is destroyed. It is a path where eight millions of the Ukranian population in Poland have 300 miserable Ukrainian schools, and only two daily newspapers, while the circulation of these papers according to the *Novy Chass* gives place even to the circulation of papers among the Eskimos.

Herr Rosenberg, one of the leaders of German fascism, is pursuing this path of national enslavement and of the bourgeois landlord exploitation of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. under the flag of the struggle against "the Mongol forces" which allegedly "have achieved victory over the Northerners in the organism of the Russian people". German fascism which hopes to cast Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia under the heel of German imperialism and militarism, graciously handing over Soviet Azerbaidjan, Georgia and Armenia to British imperialism, now treats the Uzbeks, Tartars, Tadjiks, and Ukrainians, etc., who are free Soviet citizens as a "lower race", as apes. Can we be surprised that, faced with this capitalist barbarism, the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets showed the whole world that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are united in a firm alliance as never before, united by the great common cause of the construction of socialism which ensures an unheard of development of national culture in all of the national republics of the Soviet Union?

DEMOCRACY

But the oppositeness of the two lines of world development was most sharply displayed on questions of democracy as they affect the toilers.

Soviet Power, as the State form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the very moment that it arose, in the fire of the October Revolution, ensured the very highest type of the development of democracy, one unknown in the world (the right of all toilers over 18 years of age to electoral rights, complete equality for women, etc.). From the very first moment when it came into existence, Soviet Power embodied democracy for the toilers, implying that the widest masses of workers and peasants are drawn into the management of the State, and that the exploiters are suppressed by all the measures at the disposal of the State power. In the past, the special features of this proletarian democracy (including the special features of the electoral system, namely, indirect, open, and not completely equal elections) ensured that the proletariat played a leading role in relation to the small peasant owner in the economically backward country, and ensured that the widest masses of toilers would be trained by the proletarian vanguard in the difficult task of the management of the State.

From the very beginning it was clear that these limitations of electoral rights were of a temporary character. Furthermore, in the Party program on Comrade Lenin's suggestion the following paragraph was included, which indicated the further line of the Party in the direction of further democratizing the electoral system, to the extent that the social structure of the Soviet State altered:—

> "The task," it stated, "facing the Party of the proletariat is to carry on uninterruptedly the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, to carry on a struggle of ideas against the deeply-rooted prejudices regarding the unconditional character of bourgeois rights and liberties, and at the same time to explain that when we deprive certain people of political rights,

and when we undertake any limitations whatsoever of freedom, these are necessary exclusively as temporary measures in the struggle against the attempts of the exploiters to defend or to restore their privileges. To the degree that the objective possibility of man exploiting man vanishes, to that degree the necessity of applying these measures will also disappear, and the Party will strive to narrow their scope and to abolish them altogether."

The alteration in the social structure of the Soviet Union (the tremendous growth in the numerical strength of the proletariat, the abolition of the kulaks, the victories of the collective farm system and of social property) have at the present time rendered it necessary to introduce alterations in the Soviet Constitution, and to make it correspond to the changed social relations in the U.S.S.R. And only bourgeois philistines do not understand the consistency of the Bolshevik line in this question. It was on Comrade Stalin's initiative that this question was dealt with at the February (1935) Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. With supreme Leninist-Stalinist simplicity and clarity, points were formulated, regarding the necessity for introducing alterations into the constitution of the U.S.S.R. in the direction of (a) the further democratization of the electoral system in the sense of replacing the not fully equal by equal elections, indirect by direct elections and open by closed elections; (b) the more exact definition of the social-economic basis of the constitution in the sense of making the constitution correspond to the present correlation of class forces in the U.S.S.R. (the establishment of a new Socialist industry, the abolition of the kulaks, the victory of the collective farm structure, and the establishment of socialist property as the basis of Soviet society, etc.).

The proposals made by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. were unanimously adopted by the Congress, following a report made by Comrade Molotov, and opened up a new epoch of Soviet democracy.

THE NEW EPOCH OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY

What does the adoption of these decisions signify? What is meant by the new epoch of Soviet democracy?

The new epoch of Soviet democracy is the recognition of the fact that N.E.P. Russia has become Socialist Russia, that Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has achieved victory finally and irrevocably, that social property, recognized by Soviet law as sacred and inviolate, has achieved victory in fierce struggle against the hostile class forces. In the Soviet Union the road is opened up to a full life for all honest toilers, and to the degree that the classless socialist society is successfully built up, and the last of the capitalist elements are destroyed, to that degree does the time come closer when all limitations whatsoever over general electoral rights will be abolished.

The equalization of workers and peasants in the electoral system of the Soviet State is an expression of the fact that the workers and collective farmers are now engaged in the common cause of socialist construction. This equalization is at the same time an instruction calculated to do away with all distinctions whatsoever between the workers and peasants, and to destroy the contradictions between town and country.

The term "the new epoch of Soviet democracy" is at the same time the clearest expression of the fact that the bourgeois order which is developing from bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism to the un-

disguised terrorist domination of capital over the toilers, under the fascist flag, has already a "foot in the grave", whereas in the Soviet Union "the growth of the proletarian State and of its certainty of victory are to be seen in both the small and large State reforms and in the alterations in the electoral system now proposed".

Hence in the Soviet Union the replacement of "many-stage" methods of the election of the higher Soviet bodies (the "indirect" method) by direct elections, and closed by open elections, as the expression of the indissoluble connection of the Soviet government with the masses, of the tremendous confidence in the government by the masses of the people, as the expression of the authority of the Soviet Government in the eyes of the widest masses of the toilers, and of the efforts of the Soviets to place the work of their bodies under the increased control of the workers and peasants, and to still further develop self-criticism and to check the links between the organs of Soviet Power and the widest masses of the people. Hence the adoption by the Soviet government of all that is best in the universal, direct, equal and secret electoral law, and hence the idea of a sort of *Soviet* parliamentarism.

And precisely because the capitalist world is doomed to destruction and even bourgeois statesmen see this fatal doom and recognize the proximity of proletarian insurrection which will overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie and destroy the system of private property, wage-slavery, landlord oppression and national and colonial oppression—precisely for that reason is capitalist reaction so wild and ferocious throughout the world, and just for that reason has fascism become so brutal in Germany, Poland, Japan, etc., and so irreconcilably hostile to even formal bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism.

BOURGEOIS "LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY"

At one time, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the bourgeoisie advanced to power by driving the feudal landlords away from the helm of State, they proclaimed the slogan of "Liberty, equality and fraternity". This freedom was freedom for the few, for the rich. This equality was the equality of the commodity owners, the equality under which the capitalist was considered "equal" to the workers. This fraternity was the fraternity of the capitalists, who jointly exploited the workers and toiling peasants. And even the limited formally democratic rights (freedom of the press, strikes, assembly, and trade-union organization, etc.), were achieved by the workers and poorest peasants at the cost of revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. But as far as the advanced workers were concerned, equality had only one meaning, namely, that of struggle to destroy classes, for socialism. But the bourgeoisie have always used the bayonets of their armies against those really fighting for socialism and for the abolition of class domination, proclaiming the principle of private property the sacred inviolate foundation of bourgeois-democracy. And now along with the progressive decline of capitalism, the turn has also come of formal bourgeois-democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism, which in the conditions of the direct threat of the proletarian revolution, had become useless and a hindrance as far as the preservation of bourgeois domination is concerned.

The democracy of the electoral systems of the past century bore testimony to the certainty that the bourgeoisie felt in their own power, and in their own ability to subordinate the toiling masses to their class will, and to present their own bourgeois interests as the will of the "people as a whole".

The crisis of bourgeois democracy began with the epoch of imperialism as an epoch of parasitic, rotting and dying capitalism. It became sharpened in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, in the period when the world became split into two systems. And it has assumed exceptionally sharp forms in the period when the advantages of the Soviet system, of planned socialist economy, have shown themselves with all their force, and when, on the other hand, it has become clear that the bourgeoisie can artificially extend the existence of the rotten and decaying capitalist system only by methods of civil war directed against the working class, by the organization of military penal servitude for the workers, by methods of fascist terror and by stirring up national and race hatred. Under these conditions the *development towards fascism has become the basic line of the development of modern bourgeois States.*

But fascism, without distinction as to its national forms, lays bare the existence of bourgeois power as that of the open terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Bourgeois power loses its last remnants of the appearance of being a government "of the people", and openly exposes the character of fascist power as being directed against the people, as one adopting the most hateful methods of government (White Terror, concentration camps, the abolition of the rights to strike, and of the freedom to organize in trade unions, etc.).

* * * *

It is difficult to overestimate the world historic importance of the decisions made by the February Plenum of the C.C., C.P.S.U. and of the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets, and it will become clear in the not far-distant future, in the still greater stormy growth of the love and loyalty of the workers and toilers throughout the world to their socialist fatherland, to the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the most powerful and freest country in the world.

The task facing the entire international Communist movement is to make full use of the international importance of the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets so as to organize the passage of the world working-class movement to a counter-offensive against the attacks made by fascism and the capitalists, and against the war danger, into a counter-offensive carried through on the basis of the united front, and of a wide popular anti-fascist front of struggle. The alterations introduced into the Soviet Constitution are a most powerful blow directed against Social-Democratic ideology, and they must be utilized to expose the reformist agents of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement. They smash up the last arguments advanced by the Social-Democrats to defend the so-called above-class but in reality bourgeois democracy, a democracy which is advancing toward fascism everywhere.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

The Social-Democratic press presents a picture of complete helplessness and confusion. The majority of the Social-Democratic papers attempt to pass over in silence the world-historic decisions made by the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets. Others of them limit themselves to publishing the resolutions of the Congress regarding the further democratization of the electoral system in the U.S.S.R., without making any comment.

However, it should be stated openly that the majority of the Sections of the Communist International have not as yet made use of

this confusion existing among the Social-Democratic Parties, have not made use to a tenth part of what they could, in their struggle to win the majority of the working class against the bankrupt "socialism" and "democracy" of the Second International, of the mighty weapon given to the world proletarian movement by the decisions which open a new epoch of Soviet democracy in the U.S.S.R.

The Social-Democratic leaders are making use of the weak activity being displayed by the Communist Parties, and are attempting to concoct a new system of "arguments" in defense of bourgeois-democracy, and to discredit the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the only real widespread democracy for the toilers.

Thus, the Menshevik interventionists, following on the heels of the bourgeoisie, are attempting, for instance, to prove that the decisions of the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets serve to "proclaim and rehabilitate the principles of that very 'formal democracy' which since October, 1917, was counterposed to the principles of 'Soviet democracy' ". (See the *Socialist Vestnik.*)

Your labor is wasted, Messrs. hirelings of the capitalists!

The formal democracy, which the proletariat overthrew by its uprising in October, 1917, will never come back to life again in the Soviet Union, for it was based on the domination of the bourgeoisie, in its turn based on the sacred principle of private property, masked by democratic institutions (the Constituent Assembly), and by universal, direct, and secret suffrage.

Soviet democracy, on the other hand, differs fundamentally from the formal democracy of the bourgeoisie, and is the dictatorship of the proletariat which operates proletarian violence against the bourgeoisie, and directs the toiling masses in the reconstruction of the whole of the national economy and of culture as a whole, on socialist foundations. The basis of the Soviet system is socialist, social, and not private property. Social and not private property is sacred and inviolate. And when all that is best in the universal, direct and secret ballot is fully introduced into life in the Soviet Republic, *it takes place on the basis of the Soviet system and serves to strengthen still further the dictatorship of the proletariat, to render social property more firm, to construct socialism and to abolish classes.*

At one time, many years ago, the passage of the Soviet Union to the new economic policy (N.E.P.) caused hopes to rise in the hearts of many capitalists that the U.S.S.R. would return to the lap of capitalism. And now, the contemptible leaders of Social-Democracy and the counter-revolutionary Menshevik interventionists are feeding themselves with hopes of the re-establishment of "formal" democracy in the Soviet Union, *i.e.*, of the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy. In vain, the illusions of the capitalists connected with the passage of the Soviet Union to N.E.P. were very quickly shed. How many weeks, if not days, will the present illusions of the Social-Democrats last? It is true that none of the Social-Democratic hacks take seriously what they write. This version serves only one purpose, namely, that of supporting the democratic illusions which the masses are losing. Maybe those backward sections of the workers who are not well up in politics will believe that the U.S.S.R. is turning back to the formal (*i.e.*, bourgeois) democracy so beloved of the Social-Democrats.

But can we conceive that any wide masses of workers in the capitalist countries will believe that the Soviet Union is abandoning the

Soviet democracy which has destroyed unemployment in the towns, and poverty in the villages, and ensured an uninterrupted advance in the standard of living of the toiling masses, as well as their participation in the management of the State, and the complete re-organization of the whole of national economy and culture on a socialist foundation? Of course not! And this argument about the turn of the Soviet Union to formal bourgeois democracy bears clear witness to the *helplessness* of the Social-Democrats in their struggle against Communism, in the struggle against the Soviet democracy being put into operation by the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

The Social-Democratic press, taking into account the extreme weakness of the version they put forward, are hastening to make use of purely Trotskyist arguments in the struggle against the Soviet government. The equalization in the electoral system between workers and peasants, is, they allege, an attempt made by the Bolsheviks to rest on the peasants as against the workers, and implies, allegedly, that the reform is "to the benefit of the village and, what is more, to the village as a whole, including the peasant proprietors", and that it can "be interpreted as a desire to attract precisely the kulaks" (see the paper of the Polish Socialist Party, the *Robotnik*). Added to the foul anti-Soviet lie about "attracting the kulaks" as being the essence of the alterations in the Soviet Constitution are the still more hypocritical doubts of the *Robotnik* as to "whether the individual peasants in the Soviet Union who still constitute 35 per cent of the agricultural population, have the right to vote"!

Can there be any doubt that even the most backward Social-Democratic workers will expose this anti-Soviet onslaught of the Social-Democratic press, and will clearly see that the equalization of the rights of the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union is the result of the fact that the overwhelming masses of the former peasants, of the former peasant proprietors, have taken the path of the collective farm life, the path to socialism, whereas the kulaks who have been smashed up and abolished as a class, and the former kulaks can only obtain civil rights again if they become re-educated and prove that they will work honestly, as toilers and not as exploiters? This equalization is a factor which will assist in still further abolishing the difference between the town and the village, between the workers and peasants, by transforming them into toilers in a classless socialist society.

However, it is useless seeking for consistency in the arguments of the Social-Democrats, contradictory as they are. These arguments are all good if they serve one purpose, namely, that of counter-revolutionary struggle against the Soviet Union. Therefore, after only just announcing their "discovery" to the effect that the Bolsheviks are abandoning the principles of Soviet democracy and are returning to the principles of formal democracy, or to the effect that the reform allegedly means attracting the kulaks, the Social-Democratic writers are attempting to convince their readers that the democratization of the Soviet electoral system is of "no practical importance". And here they give themselves away as open agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, as counter-revolutionary fighters for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

Previously the Social-Democrats speculated on the indirect, not fully equal, open and not universal, electoral system in the U.S.S.R. Now they can no longer speculate in this regard. It must be recognized

that nowhere in the world is there such a universal electoral system as in the U.S.S.R., since only an insignificant handful of exploiters in the land of the Soviets are debarred from the right to participate in the elections. Whereas, in "democratic" France, for instance, one-half of the population (women) have not got the right to vote. In addition, young people under 21 years of age, people who live in France but born in the colonies (and French at that), foreigners, and soldiers are debarred from participation in the elections.

THE "DEMOCRATIC" U.S.A.

In the "democratic" U.S.A., young people from 18 to 21 years of age also have not the right to vote, while in the Southern States of America, Negroes are, in fact, deprived of the right to vote, (for an educational qualification is required), while in various states, a property qualification or a payment of an electoral tax is required, and this excludes the unemployed from participation in the elections. But even among those who have the right to register their votes it is usual that slightly more than 40 per cent make use of their right, whereas in the Soviet Union we see an unheard of growth in the activity of the electors. In the 1934 elections to the Soviets, 93 per cent of the town electors, men and women, registered their votes, while the corresponding figure for the village was 83 per cent.

As regards democratic rights and voting by the people in fascist countries (Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy, etc.), the bourgeoisie there have transformed these into a foul comedy, the success of which is ensured by bayonets and by the employment of savage, unbridled, nationalist demagogy. The whole system of the Soviet elections ensures competition at the elections between the shock workers ("Udarniks") of socialist industry, agriculture and Party work, and ensures the free election of the most popular and most beloved fighters for socialism, the best of the best builders of the classless society.

The Social-Democratic leaders have now to declare themselves openly in favor of those very features of the bourgeois democratic system, the introduction of which into the Soviet Union would imply a step towards the restoration of capitalism, namely, freedom of the press *for the bourgeoisie*, and freedom for *bourgeois* political parties to participate in the elections. The Social-Democrats thereby would like to do away with the basis of the proletarian dictatorship, namely, the employment of violence against the bourgeoisie, and the leading role of the proletariat in relation to the toilers as a whole, for the destruction of classes and the construction of classless society.

But every worker clearly understands that the U.S.S.R. is surrounded on all sides by capitalist countries, that freedom of the bourgeois press (and, what is more, for bourgeois parties) is freedom for the capitalists to bribe the unstable elements among the toilers, and to deceive them by their bourgeois ideology. The influence of the bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R. is not exhausted by the existence of 174,000 kulaks, speculators, etc. Remnants of capitalism have continued to be maintained in the consciousness of the masses (and not only of individual farmers, but also in the consciousness of collective farmers and even of the backward sections of the proletariat). The contrast between the town and country, and, what is more, between physical and mental labor, have not yet been abolished. The struggle is a fierce class struggle against the anti-social, anti-State, anti-collective farm relics in the consciousness of the people, and this means the protection and strengthening of social property, the basis of the Soviet system, by the organs

of the dictatorship of the proletariat—and this struggle has assumed still greater importance precisely now, in connection with the victory of social property.

THE VICTORY OF THE LINE ADVANCED BY COMRADE STALIN

The decisions of the Seventh Congress of Soviets regarding certain alterations in the Soviet Constitution throw a clear light on the political and theoretical struggle waged by the Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, against the anti-Leninist line of Zinoviev and Kamenev, who have slid down to the camp of counter-revolution, and against the counter-revolutionary, Trotsky.

Zinoviev distorted Lenin when he attempted to introduce the thesis of the "dictatorship of the Party".

What did this thesis imply? This thesis counterposed the Party to the Soviet government, the Party to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fundamentally, this thesis proclaimed a break between the Party and the broad masses of non-Party workers and peasants, and excluded the possibility of developing Soviet Democracy. This thesis is Social-Democratic, counter-revolutionary slander against the Soviet government.

Following Zinoviev, his fellow-champion in the struggle against the Party, Kamenev, declared that the vitalizing of the Soviets would lead to the "lower rungs of the Soviet system being swamped by the petty-bourgeois elements". And Trotsky's "theory" to the effect that the system of War Communism is characteristic of the whole transition period by no means allowed for the development of Soviet democracy.

It is only the untiring struggle of Comrade Stalin against the counter-revolutionary Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc, which advanced the thesis to the effect that it is impossible to build socialism in a single country, not believing in the revolutionary power of the proletariat and of its ability to take the lead over the peasants, that made it possible to bring about the destruction of the anti-Party groups, and to victoriously build socialism and to announce a new epoch of Soviet democracy at the Seventh Congress of Soviets.

Messrs. the Mensheviks are attempting in their struggle against the Soviets and against the dictatorship of the proletariat to make use of the remnants of the capitalist elements, and the relics of capitalism in the consciousness of the masses which have been smashed up (but not as yet finally wiped out). Hence their dissatisfaction at the way Soviet democracy is being carried through to the end, and is serving to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to destroy classes, and to destroy the relics of capitalism in the consciousness of the masses. When the Social-Democrats come forward in favor of freedom of the press for the bourgeoisie, and in favor of making bourgeois parties legal, they are carrying on a desperate struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., for the restoration of capitalism, and of bourgeois domination. The toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, led by their mighty Bolshevik Party, and by the mighty leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin, are making a tremendous step forward to the classless socialist society.

History has passed its sentence, namely, that the cause of socialism, the cause of the U.S.S.R., the cause of Lenin and Stalin, is invincible. And the miserable, contemptible Social-Democratic leaders will not be able to stop this triumphant march of socialism which is taking the place of the bloody fascist barbarism of capital, which is in a frenzy in its vain efforts to extend the domination of the bourgeois slave system, doomed as it is to death.

The Anniversary of the Fascist Frame-Up

By D. Z. MANUILSKY

A YEAR ago the world proletariat wrested Comrade Dimitroff out of the clutches of German fascism. February 27, 1934, was the day when Dimitroff, Tanev and Popoff came to the U.S.S.R.

On more than one occasion in history, the toiling masses have smashed the locks of prisons in the *name of the revolution*, and liberated those held captive by reaction. But these locks have not yet been smashed in Germany. Tens of thousands of proletarians and their leader, Comrade Thaelmann, continue to languish in prisons and concentration camps there. German fascism which is the most brutal and barbarous regime among all the reactionary political regimes in the world, continues to hold the hostages of the revolutionary proletarian army in its clutches. Not a single bourgeois government takes such a cynical attitude to the protests made by "public opinion" as German fascism does, thus confirming by the whole of its policy the thesis advanced by Engels to the effect that *the bourgeois State is an armed band of those engaged in violence.* And if German fascism was nonetheless compelled to retreat on the question of liberating Comrade Dimitroff, this testifies to the existence of such pressure on fascism from the world working class movement as went far beyond the bounds of an ordinary international campaign of protest.

The German fascists were compelled to retreat because they met with a *scandalous failure* at the Leipzig trial with its frame-up of an "international Communist plot" calculated to overthrow the existing order by setting fire to public buildings. This affair was the most ungifted variation of a police frame-up in history, and displayed even less talent than the sensational police frame-up that took place in Paris in the middle of last century regarding an attempt on Napoleon's life with the aid of binoculars, a yarn which aroused much laughter among the merry Parisians.

The story of the Communists setting fire to the Reichstag which was to have justified the mass murder of the Communists by fascist bands and to have displayed fascism as the savior of "society" from the Communist danger was such a mockery over common sense, that there were few people not only abroad but in Germany itself who believed it even in the circumstances where the fascists artificially created an anti-Communist hysteria. According to this version, the "Bulgarians"—Dimitroff, Tanev and Popoff, the "Dutchman" (who was a provocateur) Van der Lubbe, and the "German" Torgler were to appear before the whole world as a sort of "international" of terrorist incendiaries to whom the meager phantasy of the fascists attributed, in the indictment, all the peculiarities copied from the fascist executioners.

The figure of the idiot Van der Lubbe, doped with narcotics and reeking with the foul odor of a corpse, was in the course of the development of this plan to have symbolized "Communism in decay". The whole collection of carefully selected false witnesses from out of the fascist and criminal world were to have testified, under oath, that they "*saw*"

with their own eyes how Dimitroff dragged tins full of kerosene along the underground path to the Reichstag, how he shoved a Party card into the pocket of Van der Lubbe before his arrest.

Finally a place was left in the frame-up for the Ministers of Propaganda as well, who were to have given the Leipzig trial a national-socialist ideological basis, by putting the Communist International to shame in the name of the triumph of the ideas of the representatives of the pure Aryan breed.

But the whole of this fascist frame-up fell flat, and fell flat because millions of people throughout the whole of the world knew that *it was the fascists who set fire to the German Reichstag*, that the fact that the Reichstag was set fire was a *most glaring slap in the face for bourgeois justice*, a slap in the face of the German people and of "public opinion" throughout the world, and that with the exception of Van der Lubbe innocent people faced the court in Leipzig. And this conviction raised a tremendous wave of indignation among the workers throughout the world, whatever their political tendencies.

By setting fire to the Reichstag the German fascists hoped to compromise Communism and to isolate the working masses from its influence. In actual fact, they succeeded in *compromising* themselves and assisted in forming around the Leipzig trial that *united front* of the world proletariat which in the last analysis held off the fascist axe which hung over the heads of the Leipzig prisoners. The Leipzig trial gave a spurt to the movement of the international working class towards unity in struggle, which enabled the Communist International to develop the *successful application* of the united front tactics.

In the person of Comrade Dimitroff, Communism, for a period of three months, received a world tribunal from which to expose fascism. Dimitroff was listened to from this tribunal by the toilers not only of Germany but also of all other countries. He was surrounded by the universal sympathy of the workers, because he expressed their views and their sentiments with regard to fascism. He became a sort of concentration point of the international united front of the working class. His heroic behavior in court *increased the power of this front*. To hundreds of thousands of Social-Democratic workers it provided a living and concrete example of the difference between the behavior of their own leaders and that of the Communist leaders. Hundreds of thousands of non-party workers who had watched the Communists in their every-day work, saw the *heroic* face of Communism, thanks to Dimitroff's behavior.

Dimitroff's behavior at the Leipzig trial *raised the authority of Communism* among the masses to a height still greater than what it had been hitherto. However mean the behavior of the *Neue Vorwaerts* which tried to weaken the impression created among the masses by the way Dimitroff defended himself in court, *the masses were with him* and not with Wels and his foul speech in the fascist Reichstag. Even the petty-bourgeois elements who uttered delirious cries of "Heil Hitler" at fascist meetings and parades, expressed their admiration of Dimitroff's manliness.

But Dimitroff only fulfilled his *duty as a Communist*, fulfilling it, however, as Lenin and Stalin taught the world Party of Bolshevism. The Party which they hammered out and which guides the world's mighty proletarian State passed through the prisons and gallows of Czardom, knew how to swim against the stream during the imperialist war, underwent savage chauvinist badgering after the July days in 1917, and fearlessly led the masses to October, the mightiest and most *heroic act* in

human history. Stalin has taught not only the C.P.S.U. but also the entire Communist International not to be afraid of difficulties but to overcome them by the exertion of an iron Bolshevik will. He has educated the mighty Communist army throughout the world in this spirit, that "there are no such fortresses as the Bolsheviks cannot capture", and has taught us that the Bolsheviks must be able to give up every drop of their blood, drop by drop, for the working class cause.

Dimitroff was a product of the Bulgarian working class movement. Like other Communists in the capitalist countries, he completed his Bolshevik science in the Communist International, with Lenin and Stalin. At the Leipzig trial he did not become afraid of difficulties, but was ready to give up the last drop of his blood for the working class cause. And therefore, *he defended not himself* but the cause of the working class, he defended the German Communist Party from the slanders of the fascists, he fought not for his own life, but for the Communist International, for its program and tactics. He immediately undertook a political offensive against fascism and became transformed from accused into accuser. And by this political line which he adopted at the trial, he gave an example of how Communists *should behave* before the class court of the bourgeoisie. *By his behavior he contributed to the success of the struggle carried on by the international proletariat* for the liberation of himself, Tanev and Popoff.

And precisely because Torgler defended *himself first and foremost* and fought for his own life and robbed his own system of defense of its political essence when he gave up his defense to the fascist lawyer, Sack, he showed how Communists *should not* behave in a bourgeois court, and *rendered difficult the success* of the struggle carried on to liberate him and continues to this day to languish in prison. The behavior of Comrades Popoff and Tanev, whose lack of knowledge of the German language prevented them from actively participating in the trial, was also not without fault. They did not understand the political importance of the Leipzig trial, and pursued a passive line of juridical defense, and not a political line of Dimitroffist offensive against fascism. And this must be pointed out because the forces of the Communist Parties are educated by the example of the way Communists behave at trials, because in the conditions of growing terror in the capitalist countries the Communist Parties *must create a Stalinist generation of unbending Bolsheviks.*

The ruling classes are using all means in their power to hinder the establishment of such Bolshevik forces who are a source of terror to the bourgeoisie even when they are in chains, when they are in court facing trial, guarded by bayonets. Rakosi has languished in a Hungarian penal prison for ten years, but the bourgeoisie have not let him go after the completion of his term of imprisonment. They have tried him again, but, following Dimitroff's example, he made a manly defense of the cause of the working class and of the Hungarian proletarian revolution.

German fascism, which burnt its fingers at the Leipzig trial, has not hitherto put Comrade Thaelmann up for open trial, for it knows that what awaits it is a failure no less shameful than the one that took place in Leipzig. All the more reason has the international working class to intensify the mass movement to liberate Thaelmann. The united front of the working class wrested Dimitroff out of the hands of the fascists; it can and must wrest Comrade Thaelmann, the leader of the German workers, from the fascist jail.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain

By HARRY POLLITT

OUR Congress discussion and decisions are rendered doubly important because of the character of the report of the Credentials Committee. There has been a revolution in the composition of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the overwhelming proportion of the delegates who are employed workers, gives us the guarantee that these decisions of the Congress are going to be taken to the fundamental places, the factories, the mines, the mills, etc., and to millions of workers in this country.

We also are glad to note the large number of fraternal delegates who have been present, and express the hope that in listening to our discussions on the united front, we have convinced them also that there is need for every one of them to take into their organizations the message of our Congress, and by their personal work and example, endeavor to give life and meaning to this part of our Congress discussion.

We are making a very big political extension of our tactics of the united front in this Congress, and the acceptance of the general line in the three resolutions which have been discussed is no mechanical acceptance. There has never been such deep discussion since the Party was formed. In the *Daily Worker*, for over three months, contributions have been regularly appearing from workers all over the country, and we only regret that our facilities did not enable us to print as many of these contributions as we would have liked. As a matter of fact we still have some 50 or 60 that it has been impossible to publish.

Another healthy sign of the growth of the Party has been the big demand for the resolutions in all the units of the Party, so that adequate discussions could take place in the cells and locals. The splendid thing about the approach which the Congress has made is that we have corrected the bad beginning that was made, and for which we must accept the responsibility, of tending to look upon the united front only in terms of electoral tactics. The Congress discussion in the paper, and in the Congress itself, has shown that the united front is our chief weapon and lever in every phase of the class struggle, including the electoral field.

Now, it has also been brought out very clearly that one of the most important ways of advancing the united front has been the action we can initiate on what are called the small issues. The comrades will remember in 1932 we adopted what was known as the January Resolution. For a long time we seemed to swing in a direction of looking upon small issues as the only things with which the Party concerned itself. Later there was a kind of revolution against this, and the tendency was to drop the small issues. Experience proves that where the taking up of small questions is related to the work of the Party as a whole, these so-called small issues open up innumerable avenue and doors through which our Party can establish contact with many sections of the working class movement.

Concluding remarks from speech of Comrade Pollitt at the Thirteenth Congress of the C.P.G.B.

SUCCESS THROUGH CONTINUOUS ACTIVITY

A very important point was made in the discussion by Comrade Cornforth who, in speaking of the experiences in Cambridge said "that the successes of their united front in connection with the fight against war, were because the comrades in Cambridge had carried through continuous activity". This has the greatest possible meaning for our comrades at the Congress, because if we look back at the Charter campaign, on the Hunger March and National Congress, if we look back on some of the big strikes that we have been engaged in, it is always an outstanding and regrettable thing that during these big fights the Party has played a great role, (as we said, particularly in connection with the Hunger March and Congress, that we would never repeat the mistakes of the Charter campaign), the movement has been carried to a great height and left in a state of suspension. And the key to the avoidance of this mistake is undoubtedly the development of continuous activity, and using contacts we win in the big campaigns, not merely for these campaigns as things in themselves, but as contacts whom we can interest in a hundred and one things in which they themselves are vitally concerned in the factory, the home, and working-class locality.

Our Party must also learn to react much more quickly to the topical events that take place, many of which provide an avenue through which we can get in touch with the workers who are not yet ready to work with us on many of the bigger so-called political questions and get activity going.

For example, who can doubt that in all the mush and slush that was turned out in connection with the Marina wedding, there was a widespread disgust through the working-class movement. We could have effectively used this; we could have been more energetic in pointing out the contrast between the riches and poverty, and what could be done in the poverty-stricken mining villages with the money. And we may be sure that just as there was all this about Marina, it is going to be increased in the coming Jubilee celebrations. We must at once seize upon this topical event, not only pointing out the vast amount of money being spent. In some cases the factories in the potteries are already working overtime producing mugs with the photographs of the King and Queen, when there are hundreds of thousands of children who cannot get milk to drink, and this issue we can relate to the specific conditions in our own locality. And therefore we can even now popularize the demand: Not a penny for the celebrations—every penny for the children. And it can become a key with which we will be able to open many doors and in the opening of these doors, they can be doors where the milk is.

ISSUES TO FIGHT ON

Then there are such questions as the safety of roads. In London it is impossible to take up a newspaper but that we read about the horrible slaughter that goes on week by week and day by day. And in nearly every case the slaughter is not the slaughter of people who would never be missed; it is the slaughter of working women and working-class children in the main. And here again we can take up this issue in the most densely populated parts of London, and when we read of these terrible accidents—for example, the woman and two children in Chiswick who were out shopping. In a hurry to get the dinner they did not see a bus coming. The bus crashed into the woman and two children. The three were killed. It is not only the question of

what were the feelings of the masses of the workers in the street. The women knew it might easily have been them because it was a working-class mother, harrassed by the shopping, the safety of the children, her domestic duties. And if we take up the demand for the road safety precautions, for the stopping of the traffic in order that the women and children may get across the roads, every section of the population with any humanitarian feelings can be drawn into activity of this kind.

Similarly, experience has shown in the taking up of the issue of the rents and repairs to houses that they are all issues that can give us increased united front activity. Similarly with the question of boots and shoes for the children in the derelict areas. The other morning in Derbyshire, I waited half an hour outside a school for a bus and in 15 minutes, of the 85 children that passed, 55 of them either had their little toes sticking out of the front of their shoes, or their heels out at the back. And this, in a village where our comrades were saying that there was nothing they could do. Similarly in regard to the question of the safety of public buildings. At that school in Liverpool, again it is our people who are killed and maimed as a result of the rotten flooring. We must insist on better safety facilities, linking up this fight with the fight for safety in mine, mill and factory.

Gresford is still in our memory, but what a condemnation of how little we have been able to do in regard to Gresford. After 264 miners were killed, a further 500 volunteered to go down again, not because they wanted to go down again, but because economic conditions forced them to put in an application. We must fight for safety conditions in the mines, and we must see to it that this fight for safety rings from one end of the country to the other, that no miner shall go down any mine unless it has been passed by an inspector of the workers, and not only should this apply to the mines but to all factories and mills.

On this and similar questions we have to draw in everyone. I have mentioned these factors because it is significant that special applause was given by this Congress to a student and teacher delegate who took up such types of issues as we have mentioned.

We must win over the petty bourgeoisie to the fight for the revolution. We can interest the teacher and student. No teacher wishes to teach children that are cold and hungry, nor does the student wish to draw some picture of a Venetian gondola when he could be designing and drawing new houses for the workers. We can interest the doctor who is treating patients on the panel, who is called upon to diagnose their complaints and is unable to do anything because he knows it is poverty and malnutrition that is the trouble.

It is, therefore, not only the question of the fight for the miner, railwayman, and engineer, we must also endeavor to recruit the doctor, teacher, student, architect and thus we will grow stronger and stronger and build a strong united front.

We make a great mistake in only looking upon such issues as Part II of the Unemployment Act, or the fight against Mosley, as the principle avenues of building up the united front. The stronger we build the mass activity in the locality on the small day-to-day issues, the greater the support we will be able to organize on the bigger political questions.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE UNEMPLOYMENT ACT

The reports in the press and the telegrams we have received show that the fight against Part II has grown stronger in the last days.

We cannot leave the calling of strike action on February 25 (or mass demonstrations on February 24) to the Cambrian Lodge in the Rhondda. We must not be satisfied with this, or with the calling of the London workers to demonstrate to Parliament. We have now to give a lead that is in accordance with the growing tempo of the situation, and our call, therefore, must be to take up this demand of the South Wales miners for a one-day strike on February 25, all over this country, as a first manifestation of our serious fighting against this measure of starvation. At the same time, we have to see in every local council and in every county council, that we lead the councilors. We must feel the same breath of working-class revolt as was felt in Westminster when the London workers went there to demonstrate.

We must ensure that every trade-union branch is now going to pass resolutions demanding that the General Council shall line itself up with South Wales and be responsible for the issuing of this national One-Day General Strike call on February 25. If we do not do this, then the reformists will make every effort to call it off in South Wales on the ground that that area is fighting alone. We want to learn from the practical experience in Cambridge, that the success of the united front depends on continuous activity, and it must be continuous activity that now is initiated by the Party in every factory and every trade-union branch in this country.

The situation in South Wales assumes tremendous political importance for the whole working-class movement in this country. There is no further need to make reference to the great strides the mass fight against Part II has taken there. We must learn one or two lessons and point out one or two of the weaknesses in regard to the dangers that beset our comrades in this important political situation; a dangerous situation for the Party unless we can immediately see some of the mistakes we have made, correct them, and then avoid making them in the coming days.

The first thing that is to be stressed is that the South Wales experience has revealed that where we have a foothold in the Miners' Lodge, where we have a foothold in the trade-union branch, in that place we can use this as the lever for drawing in the Ward Committees, the Labor Party, the Trades Councils, the shopkeepers and the clergy into the common front. Can any one of us remember in our lifetime any issue that has ever come forward on which shopkeepers, school-teachers or clergy have found it necessary to unite their protests together with the working class against the measure that threatens starvation to the workers? We cannot. Much of the success of this has been achieved because of this lever for the winning of the workers in the Lodge and thus being able to win workers for united-front activity all over the country. Our experience has also shown in South Wales the necessity, even within the united-front movement, of comradely criticism being made of measures of reactionaries that have for their objective the splitting of united action. In the Rhondda our comrades have had to make such criticisms, and because they were made in the correct manner, they won not only Lodges, but Area No. 4 of the South Wales Miners' Federation, embracing twenty lodges, and as a result of winning these twenty lodges, the comrades were able to defeat a move made by the Labor Party leaders which could have led to a split in the building up of the united-front activities in the Rhondda.

At the same time it has to be objective criticism; it has to be constructive criticism, and criticism of such a character that we shall

be able to convince every worker that such criticisms are made with the sincere motive of strengthening the working-class struggle.

TENDENCIES TO GUARD AGAINST

South Wales has also shown that there are two tendencies against which we have to guard. Firstly, the tendency to let everything go by the board in the interests of unity. Secondly, an extreme criticism and attacking of Labor Party leaders on the united-front platform. When our Party makes a united-front agreement with any working-class organization in this country, the Party has the duty to see that it is carried out.

There is also the danger, arising from this wrong tendency, for the united front to degenerate into a struggle between the Labor Party and the Communist Party as to who shall have the body. Some of our comrades in South Wales are making the mistake of telling the workers that these united-front bodies are already Soviets. We should not introduce the question of Soviets in such a way. Immediately, the Labor Party leadership who are looking for a way out seize upon this issue, and use it to try and show that the Communists are out for some other motive, and not the driving forward of the immediate fight. It is absolutely wrong to say that we are forming Soviets in South Wales. Let us keep the name of Action Councils and all that this name implies at the present stage of the struggle, and we shall not go far wrong.

The next mistake we have to avoid is the danger of driving the Labor Party—and, comrades, we want to keep the Labor Party in the united front—away by endeavoring to overload the united-front organizations with Communists. Comrades, if our line is correct, if our line has mass support, not many members of the committee need be Communists. We can well afford to be in a minority so long as we have the majority of the workers outside, and the majority outside the Committee Room is the majority which has been won as a result of the mass activity which the Party carried on.

Why do I lay such stress on this point, comrades? I do so because we are bold enough to believe that we can already see as a result of what we have been able to set going in South Wales, the breaking through of the ban on united-front activity placed by the leaders of the Labor Party. We are bold enough to understand that if we can achieve this, if we can make it stronger, if we can draw more and more in, then it is not a question of a transformation of the position of the united front in Britain, it is a change in the international united front; it is a change in the relation of class forces within the Second International; it opens up the perspective for the possibility of the establishment of a united front on an international basis; and it means, if it can be realized, an enormous weapon in the stemming of the capitalist attacks on the workers, and of the advance of fascism and war.

Therefore, a great responsibility rests upon our Party, because the reformists also look upon questions as we look on them, in this sense that when they see a mass situation developing, they understand its class significance, and their move, unless we have such mass backing in the factory and union, is a move that is not calculated to strengthen it, but to try to canalize it into peaceful so-called parliamentary channels.

In the *Daily Worker* this morning we had a report that yesterday in South Wales, Ernest Bevin, the leader of the T.U.C., the most power-

ful trade-union leader in this country, and who has in his control the most powerful trade union in the country, is speaking on the same platform as our Comrade Lewis Jones. We are glad. But we also know that when the National Labor Party and Trade Union Congress leaders sent Bevin down into South Wales, it was not for the purpose of developing the mass movement that has developed in Merthyr today, or for the calling of a strike on February 25, but to give the workers the perspective of some other peaceful-fighting-at-election-times method to abolish Part II. Our job is to give them a welcome, but a welcome that has behind it such a class note, and demand that even those leaders dare not ignore the significance of the new mood of the revolting masses.

Our speeches on the united-front platforms must be models of what speeches should be. Every speaker who goes to united-front meetings has the duty of carefully preparing what he is going to say. The day has gone past when comrades who have made no preparations can get up and leave it to the spur of the moment. We are a serious revolutionary political Party; when we speak it has to give the lead, and every one of us, whether in Lodge, or the Free Trade Hall, or on the street corner, must speak with heavy responsibility, and more especially still in united-front meetings.

And when we speak in such a meeting, what should be our line? It should be to explain the situation as clearly and simply as we possibly can, to show what the demands are to meet the situation, and then to show what has to be done in order that these demands can be won. And if our speeches were modeled on these three points they would be concrete, popular and a lead for every worker in the audience, so that they would nudge each other and say, "that is right, that is what we want and what we are waiting for, and want to get", so that when the meeting is over, the workers will carry our words amongst their mates. It is a very good rule to remember, comrades, in united-front activity. The formulation may be a little wrong, but I would rather that the comrades worked on this formulation. *The main enemy of the working class always is, has been, and will be, the capitalist class,* and the capitalist class at the moment is represented by the National Government, and our job is to organize the workers against this main enemy, and expose those inside the working-class movement who abet this enemy by their refusal of the united front.

Alongside this there is the indispensable need for independent Party activity. I know that the comrades in South Wales are doing gigantic work, but you must spare some of your forces for the holding in South Wales of Communist Party meetings, at which the Communist Party shall give the whole program and policy for which this Party stands. Out of such an exposition we will recruit members to the Party *now,* not when the fight is finished, so that in South Wales out of the mass revolt thousands of new class-conscious workers shall stream into our Party and make it impossible for the reformists to behead the movement as they did after Schiller and after the last annual conference of the S.W.M.F. The carrying out of these points is of importance not only for South Wales but for the whole of our Party, and this not only opens up the perspective for a general strike on the 25th of February, it also opens out the perspective for big changes in the whole of the political situation in this country.

ABOUT THE DISCUSSION ON ECONOMIC STRUGGLES

Now some remarks on the discussion on economic struggles. That discussion together with the Credentials Committee report reveals big

advances which our Party has made since the time of the Twelfth Congress, and it was of special importance to note how many comrades in the discussion revealed the new opportunities they had for the development of the Party influence, as a result of their holding of trade-union positions.

May we say in introducing this question that in local organizations, in district organizations of our Party, in the cells, D.P.C.'s, L.P.C.'s, any comrades who are prepared to report to the C.C. that they have in their cell, unit, or local, any members eligible for trade-union membership, who are not in them, who refuses to join them—comrades, the time has come when small as this Party is, it is better to be without such false revolutionaries.

Having said that, we must say this, where in any local there are comrades whose economic position is of such a character that it is impossible for them to pay trade-union dues, we all have the responsibility of helping such comrades in such positions to be in the unions, and we must help them to pay their dues, not as an act of charity, but as an act of revolutionary comradeship and understanding of what politics are, and comrades who are in that position should not be hesitant about taking trade-union payments.

The fight for trade-union positions must be a fight that is made on policy, and when our comrades are elected, the people in that branch must know what the policy is that our comrades have been advocating. One half of the trouble is this, that we take the positions many times, but no one in that branch has a clear idea of the policy which we have been advocating. In the new posts to which we are being elected, many district committee men in the A.E.U. and committee men in other unions, would be in a much stronger position if they could say that "When I was elected here I was elected because I said I would fight for this program, and I am here to fight for that, but I want you to fight with me". In this way a new significance would be given to the comrades who are being elected in such positions.

There also arises from this the need, as Comrade Campbell explained, for the development in every industry of a concrete program applicable in that industry, a popularization of that program now, in order that at the coming trade-union conferences of the Shop Assistants, N.U.D.A.W., Loco-men at Whitsun, Engineers in June, Railwaymen and Miners in July, already support for our policy and resolutions will have been won. This year sees the biennial conferences of the Transport and General Workers Union. Already we ought to be popularizing a program that can receive the support of every Transport and General Workers Union Branch in this country.

I want to reinforce Comrade Campbell's plea for special attention to the problems of winning support of the lower trade-union functionaries, and alongside this comes the burning need for an alternative program to that of the T.U.C. program, a program upon which we can unite in common action and struggle, trade unionists in every industry and in every factory all over the country. It may be that the best way would be to consider the formulation of a series of national demands applicable to every trade union in the country. It may be that we could approach this through the Trades Councils, get the endorsement of a Trades Council and let that Trades Council become the initiator of the program, and thus make an impression upon the T.U.C. agenda and upon the Congress itself. We cannot wait until July or August until we commence to prepare for the agenda of the Congress. We can-

not wait until two or three weeks before the Congress, we have to start now. We have to popularize what it is we want, because if we have mass support outside the Congress, then we can have a small fraction there with the knowledge that it has the backing of hundreds of trade-union branches and that it is not speaking in the name of a tiny fraction of class-conscious trade unionists, but it is speaking for the workers as a whole. This is an urgent necessity for us to see now.

THE QUESTION OF TRADES COUNCIL WORK

Bound up with this question is the Trades Council work. It is not an accident that the General Council first of all directs its efforts at the weeding out of the revolutionary workers in the Trades Councils. They do it because they understand in the present conditions, and with the perspectives we have, that the Trades Councils are going to be more and more the unifying centers of the economic struggles of the working class and therefore they want to make these institutions safe for Mondism and not for class struggle.

In Manchester, improvement has been made in Trades Council work; in other parts of the country improvement has been made, and what can be done is being proved by good examples all over the country.

This is all to the good, this is what we want; but we are still losing opportunities of getting delegates on the Trades Councils. The more delegates we get the stronger we can make them and the more difficult it will be for the bureaucracy to get their line across. We must mention the fact that our trade-unionist comrades very seldom get together in connection with an important meeting, to discuss what is to be the line, what are to be the arguments put up; seldom do we have a meeting of comrades, and seldom do we consider it necessary to have an exchange of opinion so that the fraction leader, when he speaks, speaks with the judgment of the comrades in that trade union. If we do this then we can put a clear line and the same line throughout the whole of the trade-union movement. We must have well organized, functioning fractions. Only in this way can the Party really win the whole of the workers behind the policy of the Communist Party. We want to support the strong plea that was made by Comrade Mofatt and Comrade Allan in connection with the campaign for trade-union unity. Those of us who were among the old-guard members mentioned in the credentials report, have memories of the terrific propaganda carried on in this country for the amalgamation of the unions in the past, and the splendid work that was done, but we are not using these same propaganda methods for developing unity of unions and action today. It is necessary that the Communist Party of Great Britain shall become the champion of trade-union unity on a class basis, in order that the workers can build up mighty class trade unions and win in their economic struggles. While insisting on every eligible member being in the trade union, we have got to do something else. We are not a trade-union party, we are a revolutionary political party. We are not a Party that looks on every question from the point of view of a miner, an engineer, a railwayman, and we are not a Party that appreciates the leadership only in terms of its policy in a particular industry and place of work. We are a political Party which advances a line that is in accordance with the interests of the whole working class, but we have dangerous tendencies that have to be checked in our Party: the tendency to separate completely our trade-union work from our general political line and nothing could be more fatal.

One of the reasons for the absence of a great mass campaign for trade-union unity is because we become so largely boxed up amongst railwaymen, miners, etc., without any common unified lead that can drive forward the activity and the work of our comrades as a whole.

"NOT A GINGER GROUP BUT POLITICAL LEADERS"

We were delighted to hear the remarks of our Comrade Cooke in the discussion this afternoon. We repeat this because it was as important as anything spoken in this Congress:

> "The workers see us as great strike leaders, they see us as a ginger group in the Trades Council, they see us as militant trade unionists, but they don't see us as political leaders."

This wasn't said by Gallacher, Pollitt or Stewart. This was said by a comparatively new member in our Party, who in making that contribution must have been expressing what he himself had strongly felt, even before he came into our Party

Let me again repeat what the Second Congress of the Communist International had to say about the role of the Communist Party:

> "The Communist Party is the Party of the working class. The Communist Party has no other interests than those of the working class. It differs from the general mass of the workers in that it takes a general view of the whole historical march of the working class and at all turns of the road it endeavors to defend the interests, not of separate groups or professions, but of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads all the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses."

When once we fully understand the role of the Communist Party and apply it in our daily activity, then we can help build mass militant trade unions embracing every worker; then successful big economic struggles, and the defeat of Mondism will be possible, thousands of trade unionists recruited for the Party, but this is only possible if the work in the unions is carried out on the basis that was laid down when the C.I. held its Second Congress in 1920.

We believe that if the suggestions which have been outlined are put into operation, then there is ever greater advance. These suggestions, if put into operation now, can win greater support. Tomorrow, the Congress will debate a manifesto which will give the lead on the urgency of the united front to every working man and woman in this country. The program it will put forward is of general interest and its demands of a general mass character. But the general importance of its demands must also be related to the local circumstances and concrete situation.

What have we to do when this Congress is over? We have at once, on the basis of the Congress, to approach every local Labor Party, every trade-union branch, and every trade-union functionary and endeavor to win their support. We must popularize this program amongst the workers. We must try to get resolutions of support in every organization where we are, and where workers who want united action are also members.

What do we drive for in this campaign? The winning of the workers to support our proposals. What do we do if they are rejected? Take it lying down? No, we explain to the workers what it was we

proposed. We ask them to campaign against it, come and record against it in the consciousness that we can overcome and overrule this first rejection that may be made by the Labor leaders. We try to draw in all workers' organizations and candidates into every type of united-front activity. In every demonstration, in every strike, we invite the local trade-union officials, Labor candidates to come and take part, we invite local Labor Parties to participate, and upon this basis the class forces can be built up. This is our tactical line. We are not going any further. Unconditional support of Labor does not arise; in this Party Congress our tactics are being formulated on the basis of present conditions. Further tactics will depend on the success of the united-front drive and on the objective situation that may then prevail.

The development along these lines, the daily activity, will result in the building up of a movement that grows day after day on the basis of class struggle, and then at the urban elections and the general elections we could succeed in sweeping away the representatives of capitalism and secure the election into local councils and into Parliament itself, not only Communist Councillors, Communist M.P.'s, but a majority of Labor Councillors and Members of Parliament, who themselves will, as a result of the mass forces of the united-front campaign for our demands, and whatever the character of the personnel of a Labor Government, have a significance entirely different from that that we have known before, and open an entirely new political perspective for working men and women of this country.

One final word on this section. That alongside with this goes our Party's preparations for a careful selection of constituencies, the most careful selection of candidates, the putting forward of those candidates whose elections would mean an enormous strengthening of the forces of revolution in this country. In this connection, I have a by-election in mind, in which we gave a classic example of how not to run an election. The results were very poor. The Party center asked for an explanation, and the explanation given was: "Our candidate was perhaps not the best type. He was dogmatic, sectarian and not very easy to get on with. He was not a member of the trade union and he did not believe in the united front." This is playing with the bread and butter of working men and women. The workers were right in rejecting such a candidate. The workers should not have given this man a single vote whatever may have been the consequences to the local Communist Party. When we put a candidate forward, he is not only a fighter, but a fighter who knows what the policy of the Communist Party is. Not only that, but he is respected for his devotion to the working-class movement—for his ability to state the case, and for his ability to fight. And if we select our constituencies and candidates with that in mind, if we put forward organizers who are not afraid to make war on the comrades who say it is a propaganda fight —"what is the use of canvassing and addressing envelopes", if we can find organizers who are prepared to make merciless war on our rotten methods in elections, they will receive the fullest support of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

ABOUT LANCASHIRE

A few words about Lancashire. Why did we hold our Party Congress in Lancashire? For two chief reasons: to give our Party in Lancashire a demonstration that the Communist Party considered Lancashire a key place where we have to grow and develop, and secondly,

in order to give the comrades help. The Party has a right to demand from the Lancashire comrades a change, and a big and fundamental change. No case-hardened Bolshevik could have been in the Free Trade Hall last night without being moved by the magnificent demonstration. There are some important things about that demonstration. I know scores of comrades in this Congress who have never seen such a Communist Party demonstration, who realized one of their little dreams last night, and many delegates said they never were as proud of being in the Party as last night. But what was the importance of the demonstration? It takes place in one of the key districts of Britain where our Party is the weakest in Britain, and speeches were made to that audience last night on the lines that have been made in this Party Congress, and the points in those speeches which dealt with the fundamental questions of the revolution and the building of a mass Communist Party, were seized even more eagerly in that meeting than in this Congress.

What does it prove? It proves that we are lagging one hundred miles behind the Lancashire workers. Where is there another town in this country were 120 workers from North East Lancashire, would have chartered a special train to come into Manchester to attend a Communist demonstration to which workers would come from all over Lancashire? Is it beyond our capacity to organize these 120 in Lancashire for work now in the present situation? We refuse now to believe that it is.

Therefore we want to say one or two things to the comrades which we hope they will take in the spirit in which they are said.

The cotton industry is often stated to be the most technical and difficult to understand in the country. But there is one thing every cotton worker understands, and there is one thing every reader of the *Daily Worker* understands, that nowhere else in this country has such a drive gone on against the conditions of the working men and women as there has gone on in Lancashire. Now, at the present time, can we be satisfied in this Congress with the campaign that our Party is waging against the New Cotton Agreement, because from all possible signs we are doing nothing? It may be that we are, but if we were we would have heard about it in the Congress discussions. Here is a New Agreement that is known to every employer in the weaving industry in Lancashire; that is known to every trade-union leader in Lancashire; there is not a weaver at the looms who knows what this agreement is. The greatest secrecy surrounds it. That means that the basis is being prepared for putting it over. Therefore, comrades, we have to carry out an immediate campaign. Our Party in the weaving centers has somehow or other, by one way or another, got to reach the workers in these mills, got to point out the secrecy, got to point out that in two weeks, Naesmith is going to report to the Amalgamation and get the Amalgamation to agree as the employers have already agreed. The mess pressure that our Party created some time ago, resulted in a coming together of militant weavers in Lancashire, and later the Weavers' Committees of Nelson, Barnoldswick, Skipton and Colne. But there is a danger of these four particular weavers' committees only conducting a struggle on behalf of the higher-paid section of the weavers, without regard to the interests of the lower-paid section. And therefore, every ounce of influence that we have in these four weaving centers, should now be exerted to get these four Weavers' Committees out into the other areas of Lancashire, giving the lead for united action and showing that they are not fighting to defend merely

Skipton, Colne, Bardnoldswick and Nelson, but to defend the conditions of the whole of the weavers.

A deputation of these four "Left" committees is going to London to see Parliament, but we have also got to point out that once before a deputation went and that is as far as it got, and because they never carried the struggle a stitch further, the More Loom Agreement came into action, and a continual worsening of conditions has taken place.

Let us press for deputations to the weaving offices, elect deputations from the mills, demanding the legislation of an agreement which embodies the uniform price list, the Colne, colored list and the enforcement of the payment of the fall-back wage which exists in the present More Loom Agreement. Let us organize mass deputations; not only to the weaving offices, but let us seriously see that when this meeting of the Weavers' Amalgamation takes place, a great mass deputation of weavers, elected in the mills and weavers' meeting, are present to express their complete opposition to the proposed new agreement. We have got to do it. We have got to put that issue. If it is right to ask unemployed workers to demonstrate to the Unemployment Assistance Board Offices, it is equally right to ask employed weavers, whose wages are going to be so fearfully slashed, to demonstrate outside their own union offices.

Comrades, we must at once organize an aggregate of every Party member in the weaving industry. Every point about the agreement appearing in the press must be explained. We must demand meetings at the mills. We must demand requisition meetings in every center in N.E. Lancashire on this question. We must ask, why this secrecy? What do you know about the agreement which is going to apply to the industry? In Barnoldswick, Nelson, Colne and Skipton, we must wage a campaign now, so that they will take the initiative in getting out to the other lower-paid areas as a demonstration of solidarity. Can such a line be carried through? We believe it can. You cannot expect this ferment which is going to grow in Lancashire on the question of the agreement, to be separated from the ferment already in existence against Part II of the Unemployment Act. Comrades, an entirely new situation has arisen. As a result of Part II, every worker is beginning to develop an entirely new outlook, is beginning to say: "What about our having a go?"

How did the mass movement start in Wales? It hasn't suddenly developed where thousands of women marched into Merthyr. It started from the question being put in one or two small Communist meetings, in one or two Miners' Lodges. They responded and so the movement grew and grew. It may be that one well prepared and organized meeting in Nelson or Burnley may be the spark which will set Lancashire ablaze against this new agreement. We must look at it with a real full sense of responsibility.

The comrade who has spoken in the discussion on this resolution can provide us with some splendid examples of what can be done by steady, patient work in the mill. He is a comrade who has learned very fast. A few years ago, he was a comrade who was deeply bitten with sectarianism of the worst possible kind. He is a comrade who has learned in struggle. He has done magnificent work. We ask that comrade to go from this Congress with our message and our demands, and we have the fullest confidence in him and those who are with him that what the comrades have done in Rhondda we can do in North East Lancashire.

Isn't it a serious and disquieting statement which we have heard from this platform that the only place where Mosley is attempting to make a solid basis is Lancashire, and what an insult to every tradition this county stands for! Don't make Mosley into a bogey! Don't let Mosley become a little excuse for not effectively mobilizing the masses against Mosley. It is not coincidence that he is more active here at this moment than anywhere else. He is active here in Lancashire precisely because of the character of the new agreement that the trade unions and employers are attempting to get over. His line confuses the workers at this particular time—his propaganda against the class struggle, strikes, etc. It is our job, simply and patiently to explain all the things that fascism stands for, and the significance of his propaganda in Lancashire now. In this way we shall be able to turn the anger of the workers against him, to rally the builders, spinners, card-room operatives, engineers into the struggle of which the weavers are the present focal point.

AGAINST THE NEW SLAVE AGREEMENT

When 120,000 weavers have had their wages cut, when they have been compelled to operate under harsher and harsher schemes of rationalization, it has not been long before the spinners, card-room operatives, builders and engineers and the rest of the working class of Lancashire have to follow suit. Therefore, let us make a big drive into the trades councils. Let us demand the Manchester and Salford Trades Council become active in regard to the struggle in North East Lancashire. Let us demand that the Lancashire and Cheshire Trades Councils become active in regard to the struggle in North East Lancashire. Let us demand that the Lancashire and Cheshire Trades Council Federation takes it up, let us put it on the agenda: Here is a new slave agreement, we are here, delegates from working-class organizations, what are we going to do to stand by the weavers? Maybe we won't pull it off, but the fact that our Party puts forward these proposals, popularizes and explains them will make the weavers know and understand that there was one political Party, one working-class organization which had a line and a policy and did all in its power to help them to get victory, and that in itself will be a beginning.

Just as in South Wales there is need for independent Party meetings, so there is need for them in Lancashire. Especially just now. And so there is a need in Lancashire for a campaign for the *Daily Worker*. You cannot reach with your limited forces every mill in Nelson, every mill in Burnley, but I say there is no reason why we cannot reach every mill with one copy of the *Daily Worker* this week, and two next week, and if you will now send in material, your county is going to be the cockpit of the struggle, and we can guarantee the *Daily Worker* will feature it, and will help you with all the full force and authority of the Party.

Also, Lancashire comrades, where are we in the Part II fight? Where is the N.U.W.M. in Lancashire? With the highest percentage of unemployed in the country; the highest percentage of the longest unemployed in the country, we have very little activity. If we cannot build now, we can never build. All this propaganda in the press, that the researches of the Preston County Council have revealed that Lancashire will not be as hard hit as any other part of the country, is the same sort of stuff that is being put forward in other parts of the country. Lancashire will be as hard hit by Part II as any other part of the country, and we can mobilize the same mass struggle. One final

word after last night's demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, to get out of the idea that you are some small sect. You had a demonstration which other comrades would have given their right hands to have staged, the comrades in London and Scotland and elsewhere would have given their right hands to have organized a demonstration that could call to the Manchester Free Trade Hall on such a night as last night, over 6,000 workers, three and a half thousand inside, and the rest turned away; when the Party could sell £50 worth of tickets to workers to hear the Communist Party message, and raise a collection of £86.10.0, and recruit over 100 workers for the Party, is a Party that ought to be on the map.

WORK AMONG WOMEN

Just one or two other questions. Is there one of us who listened to the reading out of the telegram from Merthyr today without a feeling of shame that our Party has done very little amongst the working women? And comrades, it was a demonstration that the Party did not deserve. The lack of women delegates here, the difficulty of finding women comrades for leading work, is out of all proportion to the objective situation that we are facing. And we make a special plea that when we now go forward to explain the united-front proposals and demands of our Party, that we shall in every local and district of this country give special attention to the formulating ways and means whereby we can draw working women into this activity; that when we campaign for safety in the mines, who is more affected by it than the miners' wives; or for wage increases, who are more interested than the women who are looking forward to getting the increases? When we look at Birmingham, Spondon (outside Derby), the I.C.I. at Billingham, when we note some of the new industries growing up in the South of England, and those tens of thousands of girls and women working in industries which today produce silk stockings, and tomorrow high explosives, this is a challenge for us for organizing more effective work among the working women and housewives than ever before.

This women's demonstration in Merthyr today should be an inspiration to every one of us that we get similar demonstrations everywhere. The idea that women are the weaker sex, that they cannot fight—well, we have got a lot of telegrams from South Wales about mass demonstrations, about 100,000, 60,000, 40,000, but the only news that has come through where a deputation has vented its wrath and hostility amongst those with whom it came into conflict, was that demonstration organized by the women.

THE "DAILY WORKER"

In the discussion, comrades, very few have referred to the *Daily Worker*. I know, comrades meant to have mentioned it. I know comrades would have mentioned it if they spoke for hours as I am allowed to speak. At the same time, comrades, the fact remains that it has not been mentioned and the political reason why it has not been mentioned is that we take it too lightly. And just as the telegram from Merthyr had a certain effect, I say that the challenge of today's *Daily Worker*, produced under the conditions that we have to work on, is a splendid issue which should fill everyone in this Congress with a revolutionary pride, that such a paper can now give the lead of this Congress of the Party, to tens of thousands of workers all over the country.

I am not going to say anthing in addition to the suggestions made in the opening report about the necessity of developing the circulation.

We appreciate more than words can express the services some comrades render to our paper. There has never been a story like it in the history of working-class journalism. Those comrades who tomorrow will be on Bilston station at 3:30 A.M., the comrades who will be waiting on stations in South Wales and in Scotland, picking up the paper to be distributed to the news-agents, and when it does not come because we have missed the trains, quite correctly cursing us. We do not miss the trains because we want to do so, and we give you an assurance that every time we miss the train then the comrades responsible feel like taking a day off because they know what is going to happen to them.

We have gone through the month of January, and we never thought that we could do it, and day to day we never thought we could get the paper off the machines. We had to buy a new rotary that has been a job to get into working order. The electric fuse was blown out at the critical moment, the casting moulding machinery did not work properly. We have been working under terrible conditions, but we have not been doing half enough to justify the trust which countless men and women place in our paper. It has been a difficult time for all connected with the production of the *Daily Worker*, but a paper which can raise £28,900 in five years from working men and women, has got something to live up to to justify that trust.

We have a job to widen its circulation—give us 6,000 a day more and we will give you an eight-page paper every day—that is the proposition, give us 20,000 a day more and we will give you a Sunday edition and that is what is wanted as much as we want anything.

Comrades, we must see when we give the report of the Congress to our areas, that we give a big place to the *Daily Worker*. We must see that the news-agents show posters. This is only a small thing, but the comrades in London were able to increase the sale of the *Daily Worker* by means of getting news-agents to display a poster of the paper. Tell us a news-agent who will display a poster, and we will send him the finest poster stand he has ever seen in his life, and he will not want to cover it up with the *Daily Dispatch*, but he will be proud to show the poster, and it will get increases in his circulation.

FINANCE

Now just one or two words about the question of finance. Let us try and get in the habit that when we plan a campaign, we also plan how we are going to raise the money to carry it through. I am a funny sort of fellow. I do not like the names of our locals stinking in the nostrils of the business men of each town. I do not like to see letters coming into our Central Office from printers who have been defrauded by people who object to being defrauded themselves. This is no bourgeois morality. I know some districts where you cannot go to any printer because you have done everyone of them down, because sooner or later it puts you up against the wall, and we get into these messes because we do not plan ways and means of raising the money. If we plan the ways and means the workers will help us to find it.

How many of the locals have a hall worth calling by the name? Our little local in Nantyglo in South Wales, the most depressed and derelict village in South Wales, our little Communist local put the point to the miners and their wives: "We cannot get a hall, everywhere is barred to us. With your help we will build one", and these men and women gave £90 in order to help build a hall, and we have got a hall,

and it is one of the nicest and cleanest halls that can be found in this country.

Comrades, if these comrades can do it, well, we can do it in other parts of the country. We make a special appeal that this question of the raising of money shall really be tackled.

And also comrades, we must put in charge comrades who know what money is. And if a shilling goes down on one side of the sheet, it has got to be accounted for. Because if there is laxity in financial matters, there is laxity in political matters as well.

Every member a dues-paying member, that is a good slogan; and every district paying for its dues to the Party Center, this is another slogan.

Within recent years a healthier attitude has developed. We need a still more healthy one, and if we get that we will get a healthier attitude on all questions.

TO POPULARIZE THE PARTY'S PROGRAM OF SOVIET POWER

Finally, the whole success of carrying out our Congress decisions now depends upon the following factors: (1) the mobilization of every unit and member to make the drive for the united front; (2) the popularization of our Party's program of Soviet Power. And I wish to recall Comrade Grady's (Wigan) speech about the need for local programs showing what Soviet Power would do, and only regret that I do not have one to show you.

The little local of Ashton-U-Lyne produced last summer a little penny pamphlet, *What Soviet Power Can Do in Ashton-U-Lyne.* It is a magnificent contribution to endeavor to win the Ashton workers for Communism. It correctly relates Soviet Power to the specific conditions in Ashton. But now that the Congress discussion and amendments have strengthened our present draft, here is our answer to the capitalists and reformists alike, here is where the Communists have a plan to solve unemployment, to give new hope to the derelict areas, to show how a new workers' Britain can be built, and the popularization of the line contained in the draft, together with the drive for the united front go together, and will lead to the building up of the Party.

Further, comrades, the Central Committee will have to give far more attention to the whole question of Party education and Party training. We are going to make a new experiment in the setting up of a National School where for a short time we can take a number of comrades from various parts of the country and try to equip them in a better manner than their facilities afford, for carrying on their work. We want more professional revolutionaries in our Party.

And the fourth question, is the question that has been hammered in the last discussion, the question of recruiting for our Party, not as an afterthought. The Second Congress of the C.I. stated: "The aim of all Party work, the fundamental basis of all the organizing work of the Party, must be the creation of Communist groups". This is our task: how we recruit out of the daily activity, out of the personal contact, out of the workers we have known for years, how we spread the Party literature, how we give arguments and facts to try to bring them into the Party; and if we make this test of the Party work, then we will soon see a tremendous change.

THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZATION

And the last point is attention to the organizational problem. We need to end the tendency in our Party to despise comrades who are only thought to have organizational approach and an organizational line, because everything depends upon the correct organization to give life and meaning to the political line. And I close in quoting an important section of Comrade Stalin's report at the last Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a quotation of Comrade Lenin on the same point. I believe we can make no better ending than this:

> "Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the Party are only a beginning; they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been given; after the correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selecting of workers, on supervising the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solution are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after the correct political line has been given, the organizational work decides everything including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure."

What does this mean? It means that from now on, more than nine-tenths of the responsibility for the failure and defects in our work rest not on objective conditions, but on ourselves and on ourselves alone. And Comrade Lenin said:

> "The main thing in organizational work is the selection of people and the supervision of the fulfillment of decisions."

If it was necessary in 1934 for Comrade Stalin in the Soviet Union where the revolution is accomplished, where they have already done miracles in socialist construction, to tell the C.P. of the Soviet Union that everything depends upon organizational preparations, how much more necessary for our Party where the revolution is not yet on the order of the day. And therefore, comrades, bearing this point in mind, acting upon this, our Congress discussion and resolutions are now our guides to go into action with a clear line and a clear aim, the mass united fighting front, a mass Communist Party and mass circulation of the *Daily Worker* and the successful carrying through of the workers' revolution.

The Struggle for Unemployment Insurance in the U. S. A.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE

By SAM BROWN

THE National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance held in Washington, D. C., on January 5, 6 and 7, with its 2,500 elected delegates, was one of the most important events in the struggle of the unemployed since March 6, 1930, when the Party brought out into the streets of the large industrial cities of the United States a million workers in the struggle for relief and unemployment insurance.

The National Unemployment Congress was the largest united-front gathering under the influence of the Communist Party and to some extent recalls the tremendous movement of 1924 for amalgamation and a labor party inside of the trade unions.

The Unemployment Congress met just at the time of the opening of the U. S. Congress, when Roosevelt announced his forced labor, wage-cutting, unemployment program, and his fake social insurance legislation.

The Congress re-emphasized and re-established the leading role of the Party and of the Unemployment Councils in the struggle for social insurance; the Congress strengthened and increased the role of the Party in the struggle for the further development of the united front.

What made the Congress the rallying point of the unemployed and employed workers in their struggle for unemployment insurance? It was, in the first place, its broad, genuine, representative *united-front character;* secondly, the growing unity of the employed and unemployed as shown by the large representation of the organized labor movement of the country.

The proper political moment was chosen for the calling of the Congress. The call was issued in the middle of the summer of 1934, at a time when unemployment again became a central problem facing the whole American working class. This contributed to its success in arousing the masses in support for the Congress and the issues raised by it. Even the highest point in productive output reached during the depression of a special kind did not proportionately reduce the extent of unemployment. In fact, the depression being accompanied by further rationalization, has increased part-time unemployment. The moment the index began to go down the number of unemployed began to rise to practically the same point as at the time of the lowest point of production in 1932. How serious the unemployment situation became towards the end of 1934 can be seen from the Cleveland Trust Company *Bulletin,* issue of December 15, which wrote that, "The unemployment figures make a record that is both clear and disquieting. . . . Recently the numbers of the unemployed have been increasing, and now the volume of unemployment is greater than it was a year ago".

President Green of the A. F. of L., who was loud in his praise of the N.R.A. as a means of solving the unemployment problem, admitted that in the month of November 420,000 workers had lost their jobs. He gave the total number of unemployed as 11,459,000, the highest figure reported by the A. F. of L. since July, 1933. In addition to this, Green

stated that "200,000 farm laborers who had jobs last year" are now unemployed. Harry L. Hopkins, Relief Administrator, stated that in the month of January, 1935, there were 19,500,000 persons on relief in the United States. There is hardly a single working class family in the United States which is not facing the unemployment problem.

With the actual worsening of the conditions and with the growing failure of the Roosevelt unemployment relief program, the workers more and more began to recognize that only through struggle can be gotten a basic solution of the unemployment situation in the country. *And the idea of unemployment insurance, of social insurance, generally, as proposed by the C.P.U.S.A. stirred the employed and unemployed to action.*

Roosevelt, sensing the moods of the workers, engaged in tall demagogy, once more promising unemployment and social insurance. Just before closing of the 73rd U. S. Congress in June, he declared:

> "The security of the home, the security of livelihood and the security of social insurance are, it seems to me, a minimum promise that we can offer to the American people."

In order to strengthen the illusion, he appointed a national committee on economic security. During the entire pre-election Congressional period, Roosevelt indulged in his social-insurance demagogy. In face of such a situation it was necessary to make the struggle for the Unemployment Insurance Bill of the Party and of the Unemployment Councils (H.R. 7598 which after the Unemployment Congress became H.R. 2827) a nation-wide issue brought into every working class organization. It was essential to make the struggle for unemployment insurance a rallying cry of struggle against the Roosevelt unemployment program and against the fake unemployment insurance proposals of the Roosevelt administration and the other bourgeois unemployment insurance bills.

It is the policy of the united front which guaranteed the success of the National Unemployment Congress. A united front base for the Congress was already laid prior to its calling by the extensive united front activities within the A. F. of L. locals and amongst the unemployed organizations controlled by the social-reformists. By the middle of last summer already over 2,000 A. F. of L. locals, many of its city and state bodies as well as some national conventions of A. F. of L. unions, had endorsed the Unemployment Insurance Bill. The Bill was also endorsed by many of the Socialist Party locals and the unemployed organizations controlled by the social-reformists.

It is on the basis of the initial united front success in the struggle for our Unemployment Insurance Bill, that a broad representative National Arrangements Committee was formed which issued the call for the National Unemployment Congress.

The social-reformist leaders of all shades, from Bill Green to J. Lovestone, declared a holy war on the Unemployment Congress.

What was the policy of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy when the call for the Congress was issued and the first favorable responses to it came from the A. F. of L. locals? First, Mr. Green tried to terrorize the A. F. of L. locals and their membership against the Congress. In a letter to the Presidents of the National and International Unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies, the A. F. of L. membership was warned to "be on guard against an attempt to create the impression that the American Federation of Labor is in any way con-

nected with the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance to be held in the Washington Auditorium, January 5, 6 and 7, 1935, inclusive". The A. F. of L. membership, feeling greatly the unemployment problem and growing disappointed with the various unemployment solutions proposed by Roosevelt and Green, showed the keenest interest in our Unemployment Insurance Bill and in the Unemployed Congress, despite the vicious campaign carried on against it by the top leadership of the A. F. of L. The united front policy of the Party and Unemployment Councils for the Congress met with great response on the part of the A. F. of L. locals. Times have changed. The Communists are no longer as isolated from the A. F. of L. membership as was the case in the past. A mere ukase of Green cannot so readily stop the growing united front movement within the A. F. of L. locals. Green is beginning to realize this and he, therefore, following his letter outlawing the Congress, came out with a "concrete" and "practical" program of struggle against unemployment. In the November issue of the *American Federationist*, Mr. Green, in his editorial, makes vague reference to unemployment insurance and outlines what is essentially Roosevelt's program against unemployment relief.

From week to week, the movement for our Unemployment Insurance Bill and National Unemployment Congress was sweeping throughout the A. F. of L. locals. Mr. Green felt compelled to come out with some more definite unemployment insurance proposals in order to check the movement for the National Unemployment Congress. Towards the end of November, Green announced his seven-point unemployment insurance program. This program, with a number of variations, in fact tallies with the official unemployment insurance legislation proposed by Roosevelt through the Wagner-Lewis Bill. However, this unemployment insurance program was announced by Green so as to create the impression that the A. F. of L. bureaucracy has come out squarely for unemployment insurance.

How strong the movement is for unemployment insurance in the A. F. of L. and our successes can be seen from the maneuvers of Thomas Kennedy, the international secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America and the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, in which he appears to disassociate himself from the official proposals of Mr. Green. The very same December issue of the *American Federationist* carries a speech by Mr. Kennedy on unemployment insurance in which he states:

> "It is my firm conviction that the unemployment insurance system should be national, or in other words, it should be organized and operated under the auspices of the Federal Government. The United Mine Workers of America, the largest single organization on the North American continent, joins the New York and Massachusetts State Federations of Labor in opposing company reserve plans because they would foster and aid company unions [?] . . . The American labor movement is opposed to employee contributions to the national unemployment insurance funds for the reason that any cost assessed against industry can be absorbed in the cost of production."

Bill Green's maneuvering on the unemployment insurance question was answered by our Unemployment Insurance Bill being put forward more aggressively and increasing our united front approach to the A. F. of L. membership. The results were splendid. The Congress registered the presence of 307 delegates who were elected directly by local unions and central labor councils. (There were also present a

number of independent T.U.U.L. unions.) The total number of A. F. of L. members who came as delegates to the Congress were 616. The sweep of the movement for the Bill and the Congress within the A. F. of L. cannot be judged merely by the representation at the Congress itself. It went far deeper than that. In many industrial localities practically all of the important A. F. of L. trade union organizations were drawn into the movement and the struggle for the Unemployment Insurance Bill. This movement also carried with it many of the local organizations of the Farmer-Labor Party, clubs and organizations with which we had never before come into contact. Just to cite an example. The Sponsoring Committee for the Birmingham (Alabama) United Front Conference, for the support of the National Unemployment Congress, was signed by the following: the International Organizer of Local 91, Blacksmiths, Dropforgers, and Helpers Union; the Federal Local Union 18388 of Tarrant City; the Federal Labor Union 18435 of Bessemer; Bricklayers' International Union 1, of Alabama, local 67; International Molders' Union; Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Metal Workers; Dairy Employees' Federal Labor Union 18477; and Lodge 46, Switchmen's Union of North America.

What a world of difference between some of our former local united front conferences which were confined to a few organizations under the direct influence of the Party and this widely representative Birmingham united front conference composed of basic native workers with whom the Party never had any contact before!

The vitality of the National Unemployment Congress is revealed by the intense interest that has developed in the localities in the struggle for our Bill as against the various unemployment insurance schemes of the bourgeois-reformists. For instance, in New Rochelle, New York, the Order of Owls, Huguenots Nest 1714, has endorsed the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill "after a thorough study of seven unemployment insurance bills [and] decided that the workers' bill was the only adequate one".

What was one of the main reasons for our successes in the A. F. of L. locals for gaining support for the Unemployment Congress in addition to an improvement in the application of our united front policy generally? It is undoubtedly due to turning our face to the A. F. of L. unions and to the recent changes in our trade union tactics, and to the fact that in the recent strike wave the Party has begun to appear before the mass of the workers as *a force genuinely interested in the winning of their economic strike struggles and the building up of their mass trade union organizations. In turn the results of our work within the A. F. of L. in connection with the Unemployment Congress will help us tremendously in the further development of the rank and file movement in the A. F. of L. unions.*

Our Party was the first organization in the country which started the movement for unemployment insurance. Our Party was the first organization which took the initiative in organizing the first unemployment organizations in the struggle for unemployment relief. However, it was not long before the social-reformists, the Socialist Party, the renegades and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, began to challenge our leading positions among the unemployed. The social-reformists of various shades began to organize unemployed organizations. The fight of the social-reformists against the Party on the unemployment field became particularly sharp in connection with the united front activities for the

National Unemployment Congress. The National Arrangements Committee for the Congress addressed the unemployed organizations controlled by the Socialist Party, as well as those unemployed organizations controlled by the Musteites, to participate in the movement for the National Unemployment Congress. At the same time the Party in the localities has developed a united front movement with the reformist unemployed organizations for the endorsement of the Congress. In order to offset the influence of the movement for the Congress amongst their followers, the Socialist Party and the Musteites entered into a united front amongst themselves and announced nation-wide demonstrations for November 25, for unemployment insurance and called for a national congress also to be held in January, in order to create a parallel unemployment organization. The policy of the Party was generally to support the November 25 demonstrations and address the national reformist unemployed organizations to participate in the united front movement for the Congress called by the National Arrangements Committee. The Socialist Party and Musteite leaders refused to heed these united front calls and carried on a vicious campaign in the localities to prevent their controlled unemployed organizations from participating in the movement for the National Unemployment Congress. The growing support in the country for the Congress disrupted the plans of these social-reformists. The unity between the Socialist Party and Muste leaders weakened and they gave up, for the time being, their plans to call a competitive national unemployment congress in January.

The policy of the Party and the Unemployment Councils to address the reformist national unemployed organizations and at the same time to develop most intensive united front activities among the local reformist unemployed organizations bore good fruit. Just a few facts. The district committee of the Pennsylvania Unemployed Leagues (controlled by the Musteites) defeated the stand taken by the national president of the Unemployed Leagues, the leading Musteite, Anthony Ramuglia, who fought against sending delegates to the National Congress. The District Executive Committee went on record that the individual league branches had the right to send delegates to the National Congress. Local 10 of the New York Workers' Unemployed Union, controlled by the Socialist Party, unanimously voted that its delegates to the City Central Committee be instructed to vote for sending delegates to the National Congress for Unemployment Insurance. But the story becomes complete when we learn that David Lassar, the Chairman of the Socialist controlled Workers' Unemployed Union of New York, is also the chairman of Local 10, and in the forefront in the struggle against the National Unemployment Congress.

However, despite the rather successful response of the reformist-controlled unemployed organizations, they were not as well represented as the A. F. of L. organizations. This is partly due to the fact that in some localities there still are sectarian relapses in the attitude of the Unemployment Councils towards the reformist-controlled unemployed organizations. The weakness of many of the Unemployment Councils which is due to their insufficient activity in local relief struggles, and in the struggle for unemployment insurance in the localities did not make them sufficiently authoritative in gaining favorable responses by the other unemployed organizations to their united front proposals.

Very significant was the presence of more than 50 Socialist Party members at the Congress, and the endorsement of a number of Socialist Party organizations of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill and

of the Congress itself. The presence of the Socialist Party members followed the Boston Session of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party which rejected the united front proposals of the Party. The fact that the Communist Party, despite the refusal of the Socialist Party National Executive, continued its united front proposals, kept up its united front activities in the Socialist Party locals, contributed to bringing these Socialist Party delegates to the Congress. Furthermore, twenty-nine of the Socialist Party members who were present at the Congress issued a declaration in which they stated that "we pledge our support to carry out the principles and actions proposed by the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, to work in our respective locals and organizations for the adoption of the Bill, and for the success of the work started by this Congress.

"We believe that this Congress contains the basis for a broad front of all workers and farmers."

Within the Socialist Party locals the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill enjoys the support of a large section of its membership. This explains why Norman Thomas now and then comes out in support of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill and did not come out openly against the Congress.

What was Lovestone's "contribution" to this congress? He wrote:

> "What is the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance? Nothing but the latest puppet organization of the Communist Party, just another name for the bankrupt Unemployed Councils. It is merely another 'Red' paper organization today and can never, in the nature of the case, become anything else."

A "puppet organization of the Communist Party", "another 'Red' paper organization"! How familiar this sounds. Shades of Woll, Green, etc.! Here Lovestone is true to his role which is to hinder the growing united front movement led by the Party and the growing influence of the Party amongst the masses.

The Unemployed Councils, from the first days of their existence, took up the struggle of the Negro unemployed workers. The unemployed Negro workers were represented at major actions and struggles undertaken and developed by the Party and the Unemployed Councils. However, in the past, we did not succeed in reaching the Negro organizations under the influence of the reformists. The National Unemployment Congress marks a change in this respect. At the Congress, there were present 117 Negro delegates from the following organizations: The National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, clubs, lodges, etc. The National Urban League and the N.A.A.C.P. are two major organizations led by national reformists. The presence of a number of locals of these organizations is of great importance and the united front activities in these two organizations should be followed up most energetically. The special conference held at the Unemployment Congress for the organization of the unemployed Negro workers should be of great help in the development of the unemployed struggles amongst the Negro workers and drawing them into the general struggle for unemployment insurance.

The growth of authority and confidence in the leadership of the Party in the movement for the Congress was expressed in the reception given to the speech of Comrade Browder at the Congress by this widely representative body of employed and unemployed workers. In his bril-

liant speech, Comrade Browder connected up the ultimate aim of the Party with the leadership of the Party in the every-day struggles and grievances of the workers, and stated the attitude of the Communist Party towards the organization of a Labor Party in the U. S.

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The vitality of the Unemployment Congress, its real contact with the organizations that supported the movement for the Congress can be seen in the growth of the movement for the Unemployment Insurance Bill following immediately after the Congress. A most energetic follow-up campaign for H.R. 2827 is being developed by the leading organs that were elected by the Unemployment Congress. To date about 3,000 locals of the A. F. of L. and other workers' organizations endorsed the Bill. The *Daily Worker* is developing a good campaign for our Bill and contrasting it concretely with the Wagner-Lewis fraudulent unemployment proposals.

What is the most important task following the Congress? It is to lift the movement for unemployment insurance to such a high stage that it become truly a popular crusade affecting the whole working class movement and other toiling sections of the population for our workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill. *The struggle for our Bill can and should be carried on in such a manner that the masses will be convinced that through this nation-wide struggle for our Bill Congress can be made to pass it, and that it lies within the means of the government and the American capitalist class to furnish the funds as provided for in the Bill.*

The growth of the movement for unemployment insurance to a large extent depends on our struggle against the Roosevelt unemployment "relief" program. The real unemployment program of Roosevelt is presented in his first message to Congress. What is its keynote? "The Federal Government must and shall quit this business of relief." (From the President's message to Congress). And his unemployment insurance proposals are part of his program that the Federal Government quit this business of relief. How does he propose to take care of the unemployed? He proposes to divide the unemployed into two categories. One large section of it which is called "unemployable" is to be placed on a coolie pauper basis. He places these "unemployables" at a figure of one and a half million. For these the Federal Government assumes no responsibility whatsoever, in giving them relief, nor do the state and local authorities. They are to be put on a most miserable charity basis. What will be the immediate effect of this proposal of Roosevelt's? Millions of unemployed workers who have been receiving home relief will now be left completely destitute. Those who are "employable" according to Roosevelt will be placed on public works. The public works system, the giving of "jobs" is announced by Roosevelt as his great solution for unemployment. But what kind of a public works system will it be? Will it be a public works system to liquidate the slums, build schools, hospitals? By no means. As previous experiences have shown and as the present discussion in Congress around the appropriations for Roosevelt's public works schemes indicate, it will be part of the war preparations of the Roosevelt administration. But what is most significant in the Roosevelt proposals for public works is its huge wage-cutting plan. In his message to Congress he told us quite frankly that "compensation on emergency public projects should be in the form of security payments which should be larger than the amount now received as a relief dole, but at the same time *not so large* as to encourage the rejection of opportunities for private employment or the leaving of

private employment to engage in government work." What a difference between the C.W.A. projects that made some pretense at regular wage payments and the present hunger wage-cutting proposals of Roosevelt! The real unemployment program of Roosevelt reduces itself to the cutting off from home relief of millions of unemployed now on relief and those who will be on "public works jobs" will receive in "wages" less than they now receive in relief. *This unemployment program of Roosevelt is indeed one of the most brutal attacks on the unemployed since the crisis.*

The mobilization of the whole working class in the struggle against this unemployment program of Roosevelt's is an important task and duty of the Party. The recent National Unemployment Congress and the growth of the movement created by it to a large extent depends on what degree it develops leadership in the struggle against this unemployment program of Roosevelt. In every locality, in every hamlet and village the sharpest struggle must be developed against the taking off of a single worker from relief on the basis of Roosevelt's proposals. Immediate organizations should be established on every one of Roosevelt's public works projects. The tasks of these organizations is to develop immediately a struggle against the coolie wages, a struggle against prison camp conditions on the public works projects.

The whole movement for unemployment insurance should be most closely connected with the local and national struggles and the struggle against the whole Roosevelt unemployment program, which will build our movement for unemployment insurance, convince the masses that only real unemployment insurance can give them some relief and security against unemployment. It is the experiences of the masses with the Roosevelt unemployment program that will help further to convince them of the need of struggle for unemployment insurance.

The Unemployment Councils which have such rich experiences in the struggle against the many attempts to cut relief, must now, as never before, increase their activities in the struggle against Roosevelt's unemployment program. The basis for the united front in all unemployment organizations is now broadening. Every Unemployment Council should approach the other unemployed organizations in the respective localities for joint action against any attempt to deprive a single worker of relief. Such joint actions, with the proper united front persistence can become the basis for the movement to establish in the various localities and on a national scale one united unemployed organization. The present weaknesses of the Unemployment Councils must be overcome so that they may become the leaders in the struggle against the Roosevelt program and in the struggle for social insurance.

Every trade union is vitally concerned with the public works projects of Roosevelt. The low coolie wages which Roosevelt is establishing for the public works is part of the drive to reduce the wage standards of the American workers. The large representation of the trade unions at the Unemployment Congress shows how keenly the trade union members and employed workers are interested in the problem of unemployment. The trade unions should take up the fight against the coolie wages on the public works project and actively help in the building of organizations for struggle on these projects. The Roosevelt proposals will carry with them the cutting off from relief of millions of unemployed workers. This will affect the trade unions. The trade unions can be involved in the struggle of the Unemployment Councils and other organizations against Roosevelt's cutting off relief. In a number of A. F. of L.

locals, thanks to the initiative of the rank and file movements, the unions have officially gone on record to organize special relief committees to fight for relief for their unemployed members. Now with the introduction of Roosevelt's unemployed program, this movement in the unions can and should be extended.

The movement for unemployment insurance can be made so broad that it should become clear that "those who are for unemployment insurance must support H. R. 2827, the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill. All those who support any of the fraudulent insurance bills are against unemployment insurance."

These questions should first of all be addressed to the A. F. of L. leadership, to the Socialist Party leadership with the aim of developing the broadest united front in their organizations and amongst their followers (and to the extent that we develop the united front in their organizations, to that extent will the social-reformist leaders be compelled to take a stand). It is also the tactic of many an A. F. of L. and Socialist Party leader to either pass over in silence the question of the endorsement of our Bill and the movement for it or to merely give it half-hearted support. We know that for instance the National Convention of the U.T.W. and many central trades and labor councils have under the pressure of the rank and file of the A. F. of L. membership endorsed the Unemployment Insurance Bill. The U.T.W. Convention in fact instructed its delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to vote for the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill. Now if Gorman and McMahon did not at the U.T.W. convention openly oppose the Bill it is only because they considered it a more clever tactic to keep quiet so as to kill the movement for the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill with silence. Nor did the delegation of the U.T.W. at the A. F. of L. Convention fight for the Bill. What is true of the U.T.W. leaders is also true of many other local A. F. of L. leaders. *It is necessary now, through our united front activities in the A. F. of L. to have the rank and file ask and demand of their leaders to fight and support the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill which was endorsed by their organizations. We must not allow that the growing movement for the Bill be checked by paper endorsements.*

Let us take another example. Norman Thomas on a number of occasions declared his support for the Bill. But what is he doing to fight for it and to support those branches of the Socialist Party that have come out for it? The struggle for H. R. 2827 can now be made a central point for united front activities in the Socialist Party. Waldman, the leader of the Right Wing in the Socialist Party, has come out publicly hailing the Roosevelt fraudulent insurance proposals as "an epoch in social legislation". A movement can be developed within the Socialist Party against Waldman's endorsement of fake insurance proposals and on the basis of developing support for H. R. 2827 and the National Unemployment Congress. The Socialist Party rank and file can ask many a question of Norman Thomas why it is that after declaring his support for the Unemployment Insurance Bill he does not take up a fight against Waldman's endorsement of Roosevelt's "social insurance" measures.

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy has announced its seven-point program for unemployment and social insurance, a program which is in fact the Roosevelt program. In every A. F. of L. local, in every trade union, the struggle against the Green proposals for unemployment insurance must become a central issue of struggle. This can best be done by con-

trasting Green's proposals with the unemployment insurance proposals contained in H. R. 2827. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy comes to the workers with its 30-hour week bill as the solution to unemployment and pushes into the background the question of unemployment insurance. While taking a positive attitude on the question of the 30-hour week without loss in earnings, the rank and file movement in the A. F. of L. must work to convince the A. F. of L. membership that the Green proposals for the 30-hour week cannot be the basic measure and solution for unemployment and are made for the purpose of throttling the movement for unemployment insurance. It is on the basis of the actual issue of the struggle against unemployment, of the struggle for unemployment insurance that literally every A. F. of L. local can become a point of struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and for our unemployment insurance movement. In this manner following the successful activities of the National Unemployment Congress, the A. F. of L. organizations can become a major force in developing the movement for unemployment insurance and for our Bill to such a point that a truly nation-wide popular crusade develops to force Congress to pass our Unemployment Insurance Bill.

We have already noted that in some respects the representation of the reformist unemployed organizations at the National Unemployment Congress was not so strong. The prestige and authority that our movement gained through the recent Congress must be utilized to the fullest extent for strengthening our united front activities and connections with the reformist-controlled unemployed organizations. The national organizations of these unemployed bodies have no unemployment insurance bill of their own. On many occasions they have in one form or another endorsed the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill. The support for H.R. 2827 and for the decisions of the Congress can now be made a central issue in every one of these unemployed organizations. The question of unity of the unemployed organizations, as raised by the Congress, is a key point in all of the united front activities among the unemployed organizations. This decision is particularly important when we recall the energetic and strenuous efforts of the social-reformists to develop another center for the unemployed organizations (David Lasser's article in the *New Leader* proposing the formation of a national unemployed federation and the calling of a Congress in March for that purpose). The National Unemployment Congress can approach the reformist unemployed leaders making definite united front proposals to them on the basis of the decisions of the Congress, and also to participate in the National Hunger March decided upon by the Congress. The success of our united front activities depends on our work in the localities.

To sum up our next tasks. The whole movement for unemployment insurance stimulated by the Unemployment Congress has reached a stage where it must be developed into a nation-wide movement for unemployment insurance, for our Bill and against Roosevelt's unemployment insurance proposals. The movement for unemployment insurance must be closely connected with the struggle against the whole Roosevelt unemployment program, with the development of sustained local struggles.

The basis for all of our unemployment insurance activities and the struggle against the Roosevelt unemployment program must be the correct application of the policy of the united front for winning the masses and against the attempts of social-reformists to deprive us of our leadership in the unemployed movement.

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The Unemployment Congress already recorded the unity between the employed and unemployed. The Roosevelt attacks on the unemployed and the struggle against these attacks will tend to still further cement this unity. This unity assumes greater importance with the growing signs of preparations for further big strike struggles. It is very instructive to note that the recession of the strike wave at the end of 1934 was not accompanied by a serious decline in the activity of the trade unions and there even took place a further growth of some of the important unions. This indicates that the workers did not give up the struggle. The rank and file of the A. F. of L. unions are reforming their ranks for further battles. In the auto industry the movement of the A. F. of L. locals against the auto code and the automobile labor board was so great (as admitted by Green himself), that the A. F. of L. bureaucracy was compelled to denounce the code and withdraw from the automobile labor board. In the steel industry, the rank and file movement under the influence of the Party, has developed to such a point, that conferences of the locals of the A.A. were held in preparation for strike struggles over the heads of the Tighe machine. In the textile industry local strike struggles are again brewing. Gorman and McMahon have already issued strike threats. These movements in auto, steel and textile clearly indicate the rising strike sentiment in the country (undoubtedly the change in the trade union tactics of the Party is a strong contributing factor to the movement in the above-mentioned industries). In the recent strike wave, the solidarity of the unemployed with the striking workers was a major factor of the high level of militancy and class solidarity of the then raging strike struggles. The foundation laid at the Unemployment Congress for the cementing of the unity of both the employed and unemployed must be broadened and strengthened in preparation for the growing strike struggles in the country and in the struggle for social insurance.

The recent National Unemployment Congress following the Anti-War Congress, the growing influence in the A. F. of L. unions, once more demonstrated that the Party is indeed coming closer to the basic sections of the American working class. The masses are moving. But their movement is assuming growing consciousness because our Party is connecting itself with this movement of the masses. Our enemies, however, are not asleep. Social-reformism will maneuver and maneuver desperately to try to isolate us and weaken our influence among the masses. We must be continually on guard. We must remember that our successes by no means are keeping pace with the rapid movement of the masses and the profound changes taking place in the country.

Since the Eighth Convention, our Party, under the leadership of the Central Committee, has really been making great headway in intertwining itself with the masses and giving it leadership in their growing struggles. Continuing along the same path and subjecting its entire work to Bolshevik self-criticism our Party will become a mass Party of the American proletariat.

The Preparatory Campaign in Poland For the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International

(*Resolution of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland*)

IN accordance with the decisions of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland invites all Party organizations as well as every individual Party member to take part in the broadest discussion of the questions on the Agenda of the Seventh Congress, on the basis of their experience, work and struggle.

The Party and the Young Communist League must pay special attention to clearing up the social and political changes which have taken place in the working class movement, among the peasant masses and oppressed peoples, as well as in the tactical conclusions to be drawn therefrom. These problems should be considered in connection with the international situation, and should take into account the experience of the brother Sections of the Communist International. Only in this way will we succeed in finding our exact bearings in the development of the revolutionary movement and in the movement of the developing proletarian revolution in Poland.

The changes in the united front tactics, the achievements and defects in operating them, as well as the application of the methods of these tactics in the peasant movement and in the national-liberation struggle must be thoroughly discussed.

The question of the system of Party work in all spheres, agitation, propaganda and organization, must be discussed on the widest possible scale, and all its shortcomings exposed.

Every organization and every individual Party member must take as foundation and guidance, the political line of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Poland, and contribute to the discussion the lessons of the work and struggle they have acquired in their sphere of activity, thus enriching the political experience of the Party as a whole.

The campaign thus organized will improve the political level of our Party organizations, will enliven their political life and will help all members to master the political line of the Party as well as to render concrete the problems facing the local organizations. This campaign will increase the power of our Party ranks to resist alien influences, and will arm the Party ideologically for its struggle on two fronts, against Right and "Left" sectarian deviations from the Bolshevik line.

The campaign of preparations for the Congress most deepen our information about the position in the localities, including such points as the economic situation, the conditions and sentiments of the working masses, the state of our organizations and of their work, their shortcomings and defects, the relation of forces, the situation in the enemy's

camp, the methods of action utilized by the fascist government and of the opposition parties.

Our object in this campaign is to popularize the great importance of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern for all toilers, for their emancipation from the yoke of capitalism, to popularize the united front of struggle carried on by the toiling masses against capital, fascism and imperialist war, to popularize the slogans of the struggle for a workers' and peasants' government, a government of Soviets of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies.

To render it easier for all our comrades to undertake a most fruitful exchange of opinions, the Central Committee points to the following questions and groups of questions, upon which attention should be concentrated first and foremost:

GROUP I. *The process of the maturing of the revolutionary crisis, its difficulties and obstacles.* The forms in which the process of the masses becoming revolutionary (workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie) finds expression. How the shrinking of the mass basis of the fascist dictatorship shows itself. Signs of decay of the State apparatus (ferment in the Pilsudski camp—among office employees, in the army, and among the petty-bourgeois masses following the Pilsudskyites).

The maneuvers of the fascist government and the terror, the influence of the maneuvers and terror upon the toiling masses. Methods of attracting the masses to the fascist organizations (fascist trade unions, organizations for military training, etc.).

The role of the oppositionary parties as a brake on the maturing of the revolutionary crisis and their official and actual attitude to the Pilsudskyites.

The role of the Socialist Parties and of the reformist trade union bureaucracy. The internal situation in the Polish Socialist Party, the Bund,* and the Ukrainian Social-Democracy, etc. The state of mind of the rank and file and of the active party functionaries (signs of degeneration and the means utilized to combat it). Maneuvers in connection with the broad masses and members of the Party.

The role of the *Polske Stronniztve Ludovoe* (Polish People's Party). The attitude of the rank and file of the Polish People's Party and of the active Party workers in the localities. The influence of the latest measures of the government in the village. *Class* friction in the P.P.P. (the attitude towards its kulak leadership) on the basis of immediate interests (the question of prices, land distribution, reduction of debt, taxes, etc.) and on the basis of political strivings (attitude towards capitalism, proletariat, socialism).

Other Groupings: Ukrainian, White Russians, German parties, etc.

GROUP II. *Shortcomings and weak points in the strike movement in* 1935. Methods applied by the government and the capitalists, by the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party) and the P.P.S. and Bund bureaucrats against strikes. Terror in the enterprises and methods of struggling against it. The role of our organizations in the growing large-scale strike struggles. How to develop the strike struggle on the basis of the united front (independent initiative, organizational) preparations, fulfillment. Combination of strikes with the seizure of enterprises.

The conditions of the *agricultural workers* and the means of in-

* The Jewish Social-Democratic Party, section of the Second International.

tensifying our work among them. The lessons of our activities directly on the landed estates and in the reformist trade unions led by Kvapinski. The possibilities of organizing new trade union departments, where there is none at present. Work among the semi-proletarian elements (seasonal agricultural workers and forest workers).

The causes of the poor activity of the *unemployed* and the means of improving same. Stress to be laid first and foremost on the main points of unemployment: Upper Silesia—over 100,000, Lodz—over 40,000, Warsaw—about 40,000 of registered unemployed.

GROUP III. *Lessons of the broad united front tactics.*

How are the arguments of the Central Committee of the Polish Socialist Party and of the Central Committee of the Bund against the united front (particularly references to our alleged maneuvers and "attacks") accepted by the masses (members of the Socialist Party of Poland, of the Bund and non-Party).

Lessons of united front action *accomplished.* Their result and influence on the masses. Their tactical and organizational difficulties.

Danger of being "lulled", the risk of drowning the question of the united front in negotiations and of delaying the united front campaign. The united front and our *independent* mass campaign. Our direct penetration among the lower strata of the rank and file of the Socialist Parties, with the program of the united front, the results achieved and experience gained.

The united front and the clarity of the political face of our Party. The propaganda of our basic slogans and aspirations, particularly of the slogan of Soviet power.

The united front in the trade unions. Lessons of the campaign on the program of the "four points".* Methods of intensifying our activity in the reformist trade unions.

Did the revolutionary trade union opposition groups enter the reformist trade unions, to what extent, and what are their achievements there?

Methods of work in the *fascist trade unions* (lessons and conclusions). Special attention to be given to those branches of industry where the fascist trade unions actually have a monopoly (war industry and certain metallurgical and chemical works).

Specific questions of the Jewish trade union movement (the question of internationalization).

Trade union, political and other peculiarities in Upper Silesia from the point of view of the united front.

GROUP IV. *Questions of work in the countryside.* The most burning needs and requirements of the peasant masses at the present moment. Questions advanced by the peasant masses themselves (to discover which we are supporting, and partial demands advanced by our Party; the most frequent causes of conflicts, with the landlord estates, between the peasant poor, the middle peasants and the kulak upper strata of the countryside).

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* The "Four Points" proposed as the basis on which trade union unity is to be achieved, namely: (1) organization of joint general meetings to elect branch committees; (2) trade union democracy; (3) establishment of youth sections; and (4) acceptance to membership of individuals expelled for political convictions and proportional representation.—*Ed.*

How do our organizations apply the methods of the united front to the lower organizations of the Polish People's Party?

The possibilities of working in the mass peasant organizations (in the small peasants' union and in the union catering for small-scale farmers, and in economic and cultural-educational organizations).

GROUP V. *Methods of working among the petty-bourgeois masses and toiling intellectuals,* the urban poor and employees in State, municipal and private enterprises as well as the student youth.) Organization of the day-to-day struggle against taxes, evictions, etc. The ideological struggle against nationalism.

GROUP VI. *Questions of national policy.* The struggle against great-power chauvinism,* and the question of solidarity demonstrations of the Polish proletariat with the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in Poland. Methods of popularizing the slogan of self-determination to the point of separation. The struggle against national oppression, anti-Semitism and to overcome national separatism.**

Questions concerning the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and of the Communist Party of Western White Russia will be decided by the Central Committees of these Parties from the point of view of the pre-Congress campaign.

GROUP VII. How the united front campaign has been developed around the program of *partial demands* (September, 1934), in the struggle against war, in defense of the U.S.S.R. Lessons provided by individual organizations in the struggle against war. Methods of popularizing the U.S.S.R.

GROUP VIII. Work in the Polish army. Participation of *all Party organizations and of the Young Communist League in this work* ("organization of mass pressure—influencing the army from outside", resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland, "On work in the army", June, 1934). Lessons and possibilities in this sphere.

GROUP IX. *The struggle for the youth as an important political task facing the whole Party.* Methods of guiding the activity of the Young Communist League by the Party. Shortcomings in this guidance and the means of improving same.

The united front in the organizations of the youth. The elaboration of a united-front program for the youth. The economic and cultural demands of the toiling youth, as well as of the unemployed youth who cannot find an access to work. The struggle to establish youth sections in the trade unions. The struggle against labor camps.

The ideological struggle for the youth. The struggle against nationalism and fascism among the youth. Ideological activity (legal and illegal) inside the hostile organizations.

Possibilities for working inside the reformist and fascist organizations. Tactics to be adopted in both cases.

GROUP X. *Ideological work inside the Party. Struggle against deviations and mistakes.* Wherein were wavering and confusion displayed most frequently in the individual links of the Party, in con-

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* Jingoism of members of an oppressing nation in relation to members of oppressed nation.—*Ed.*

** The tendency among oppressed nations to desire to be completely "separated" from other nations.—*Ed.*

nection with the tactics of the united front? What are the doubts comrades experience in connection with the united-front tactics?

Wherein do Right opportunist tendencies most frequently display themselves at the present moment in our Party organizations? The same in regard to "Left" sectarian tendencies? What are the sentiments and arguments advanced by these tendencies?

GROUP XI. *Organizational questions.* The state of the Party cells (factory, street, and rural) and how they are functioning. Means of adjusting the activity of the nuclei, of livening them up and of making them more active.

Methods of guidance on the part of district and regional committees. How the district and regional committees function. Forms and limits of *inner-Party democracy,* while at the same time increasing *conspiracy.*

Methods of linking up *legal* and *illegal work* among workers, peasant masses, etc.

How to acquaint the Party with decisions and resolutions of the Central Committee. Shortcomings in this respect, and how to improve such discussion and operation of the decisions of the Central Committee.

The state of the work of the central Party technical staff and of the distribution of literature. Shortcomings, weak points and conclusions. Questions of extending local technique (district, regional, cell). Methods of improving the technique and publications of the lower organizations (appeals, factory and regional newspapers).

Party finance. The question of regulating membership dues and the check-up of income and expenditure.

The leadership over the campaign and the forms it should take. The most advisable forms to be used, in addition to discussions in the Party organizations are *articles, letters and even individual remarks* sent by individual comrades to the Party press. These materials should be considered as particularly *important and urgent,* by the respective bodies—the February issue of the *Chervonny Sztandar* should serve first and foremost as a basis and as a guide for the exchange of opinions. In addition, there is the editorial in No. 24 of *The Communist International,* "From Shaken Stabilization to the Second Round of Revolutions and Wars", reprinted in No. 1 (75) of the *Novy Pszeglond* and other articles from *The Communist International* appearing under the heading of "Discussion for the Seventh Congress".

Further, there are the following:

Political resolutions of the Central Committee of the C.P.P.

Pamphlet by Comrade Lensky, *The Truth About the United Front.*

Article by Comrade Lensky, "For a Wide Anti-Fascist Front", No. 6, (74) *Novy Pszeglond.*

Article by Comrade Lensky, "The Communist Party of Poland Before the Seventh Congress of the Communist International", No. 1 (75), *Novy Pszeglond.*

Article by Comrade Genrichovsky on "The Program of Unity in the Trade-Union Movement", No. 6 (74) *Novy Pszeglond.*

Article by Comrade Genrichovsky on "Our Tactics in the Village", No. 1 (75), *Novy Pszeglond.*

Article by Comrade Belevsky, "On Organizational Questions" in No. 1 (75), *Novy Pszeglond.*

The Central Committee instructs the Party technical staff and the Party Committees to deliver most speedily and to check the delivery of the above-mentioned materials to all the organizations of the Party.

The results of the discussion in Party organizations (nuclei) should be immediately conveyed to the Central Committee.

Warsaw, January 1, 1935.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND

The Eve of the Seventh Comintern Congress

By F. I. MINGULIN

(*Review of* THE COMMUNIST—*the monthly theoretical-political organ of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A.*)

THE January (1935) number of *The Communist* opens the discussion on the coming Seventh Comintern Congress. The magazine introduced a special section on "The Discussion of the Seventh C. I. Congress".

There are two articles in this section: one by Max Young entitled "Sharpen the Fight for the Central Slogan of the World Communist Party—Soviet Power", and another by Nat Ross on "Some Problems of the Class Struggle in the South". The rest of the material in this number also very closely concerns most important questions of the Seventh Comintern Congress, for example, Comrade Bittelman's article, "For Leninism—for a Soviet America", Comrade Amter's article, "The National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance—and After".

Besides this, there is also a reprint of one of Lenin's articles: "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution", one of the most important program works of Lenin, and a reprint of an article of Comrade Stalin: "Three Fundamental Slogans of the Party on the Peasant Question". The end of the number is devoted to the usual monthly review of the development of the economic crisis, prepared by the Labor Research Association, and a brief review of the eight volumes published in English of the *Collective Works* of Lenin.

The first few pages of the magazine are devoted to Comrade Kirov, and give his picture, the statement of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A., the necrologue signed by Comrades Stalin, Ordjonikidze, Molotov and others, and the statement of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

This number of *The Communist* can be regarded as an achievement of the editorial board, and of the Party.

The first article—that of Comrade Bittelman—is devoted to the eleventh anniversary of the death of Lenin—the immortal leader and teacher of the working class—the mighty genius. Comrade Bittelman's article occupies a central position among the original material included in the number. It is written on a high theoretical level, and endeavors, on the basis of Lenin's doctrine, to throw light upon contemporary problems of the labor movement in the U.S.A. and the position of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. In the first section of the article called "The International Significance of Bolshevism" Comrade Bittelman shows on the basis of concrete material, concerning the growth of class contradictions, the sharpening of the class struggle in the U.S.A., the ripening of the revolutionary upsurge in the U.S.A. And here the author approaches the question of the international significance of Bolshevism, its methods, its program, the program of Soviet Power. The world-wide historic victories of Soviet Power in the U.S.S.R. side by side with the downfall of the policy of Social-Democracy in Germany and Austria, the fascization of bourgeois democracy, etc., are more and more convincing the masses that the way of the Soviets is the only correct one for them.

However, it is just by force of this that the currents in the labor movement which are hostile to Communism are now increasing their fight and making more maneuvers in order to save their weakening position. Comrade Bittelman briefly analyzes the position of the A. F. of L. leaders, who advise the masses to take the N.R.A. road (of "reorganization"), and also the position of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party. The position of the latter differs from the position of the A. F. of L. leaders in so far as does reformism, which is veiled behind socialist phrases, differ from the same reformism which reveals itself in a more open, trade unionist, bourgeois form. However, Comrade Bittelman is correct in not reducing the question merely to this difference and in polemizing in more detail with Right social-reformism and unmasking it. Further, Comrade Bittleman quite correctly approaches the problem when he raises the question before both the supporters of the Detroit Declaration, before the "militants", and before the supporters of the "Revolutionary Policy Committee", in order to see to what extent and in what way they have really begun to free themselves of the "deadening reformist ideology of Oneal". And step by step Comrade Bittelman convincingly shows that there is a difference between the Detroit Declaration of the Socialist Party and the position of the Rights, especially if we bear in mind those elements in the Socialist Party which, while voting for the Declaration, honestly go to the Left. The basis of the position and the declaration of the Right wing of the Socialist Party remains reformism, the denial of the international significance of Leninism, the denial of the Soviet way out of the crisis of capitalism.

Further, Comrade Bittelman examines the position of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party which is in power there. What unites this party with the Socialist Party in a common bond is that they both strive to reform capitalism.

The Farmer-Labor Party uses its parliamentary positions in order to save capitalism at the expense of the masses. This policy arises out of the theoretical position of the Detroit Declaration. From this, Comrade Bittelman draws the conclusion, well founded, that there does not exist any reformist, democratic way to power for the working class and that there remains only one way, that of overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and setting up of Soviet Power—the Bolshevik way.

Thus Comrade Bittelman arrives at the second section of his article, entitled "Our Chief Slogan—Soviet Power". Here he makes an analysis of the position of the supporters of the "Revolutionary Policy Committee", who were not satisfied with the Detroit Declaration. Their position was described in the "Appeal to the Membership of the Socialist Party" (*The Revolutionary Socialist Review*, Vol. I, No. 1). Carefully analyzing the position taken up in this appeal, Comrade Bittelman establishes how much of it is taken from the program of the Communists, or rather which formulations are taken from the Communists (proletarian dictatorship as the transition from the capitalist to socialist society, workers' soviets as organs of the armed uprising). After this, Comrade Bittelman analyzes the shortcomings of this appeal, its inconsistency, its inability fully to break with reformism. This is expressed first and foremost in the fact that the appeal makes the Soviets, the Soviet form of power, only a *possible* form of power for the working class. On the basis of all the post-war examples of the working class struggle for power, and in particular the struggle of the Spanish workers, Comrade Bittelman points out that the victorious proletarian revolution, in

whatever forms it takes place in the beginning, takes the Soviet road when it comes to the highest stage of the struggle of power.

The last section of Comrade Bittelman's article is called "The United Front and the Struggle for Power". In this section the author points out that the struggle for the united front does not contradict the struggle for the slogan of Soviet power, but, on the contrary, widens the possibility of mobilizing the masses around our main slogan.

We have dwelt in detail on Comrade Bittelman's article, because it gives a very valuable criticism, for members of the C.P.U.S.A., of the positions of different shades of social-reformism, from the viewpoint of our main slogan of Soviet Power. At the same time, it is necessary to dwell upon some shortcomings in this article.

Comrade Bittelman very successfully showed that all currents in the labor movement which, in one form or another, to some extent or another, do not recognize fully the international significance of Leninism, Bolshevism, inevitably continue to remain basically reformist. This is perfectly correct and this must be constantly shown and proven. But the matter does not end with this, especially in the present period, the period of closely approaching the second round of revolutions and wars, of the strong Leftward movement of the masses, of the crisis of Social-Democracy, its disintegration, and of inevitable mass splits and breaking away from Social-Democracy.

An important task is to follow up the ideological, political and organizational forms in which the transition of the masses previously social-reformist, bourgeois-reformist, or even fascist, or simply non-party, takes place to the position of the revolutionary class struggle, to the position of Communism.

If the Communists today fail to make the most attentive and careful study of this process, they will be unable to establish the correct tactics, for it is just this process that forms the necessary factor for the realization of our important strategic task, of winning the majority of the working class. Therefore, having seen clearly that without the unconditional acceptance of the international significance of Leninism, there can be no consistent revolutionary policy, one must at the same time help different non-Communist strata of the workers and toilers to leave their own bourgeois or inconsistent revolutionary positions and come over to our Communist position. Comrade Bittelman did not devote sufficient attention in his article to this most important task, although his criticism gives a good basis for doing so.

This shortcoming was particularly felt in the last section of the article. Here it should have been shown what influence the changes in the Socialist Party have on the question of the united front. We assume that both the magazine and Comrade Bittelman at future occasion will return to a careful analysis of all the changes going on among the masses, including the masses of the Socialist Party, which find their expression in different currents of the Socialist Party and the theoretical positions taken up by these various currents. This will help those comrades who have made one step away from open reformism to move forward in this direction.

In revealing the likeness which exists between the Detroit Declaration and the position of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party, Comrade Bittelman cites one place in the declaration according to which, in the words of Comrade Bittelman, the revolutionary class struggle "is permissible *only* for the purpose of overthrowing fascism (or to prevent its coming to power)". The part which is given in parentheses, "or

to prevent its [fascism—I.M.] coming to power" is most significant from the viewpoint of practical struggle in the U.S.A. today. If there are elements and tendencies in the Socialist Party which agree upon revolutionary class struggle against fascism right now, today, without "waiting" until fascism comes to power, then this is undoubtedly a sufficiently serious factor for establishing a broad united front with them for struggle against fascism, against the capitalist offensive.

It is not enough to limit oneself to recognition of the differences in the positions of different non-Communist currents; one must also seek for the possibilities which differences, often not very significant, give us of increasing the struggle for bringing the masses to ever more revolutionary positions, and for increasing the struggle for the united front.

Let us mention, further, a few shortcomings in the article of Comrade Bittelman very easily rectified. Criticizing correctly the obscure conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat of the followers of the R.P.C., the author writes that it is wrong to talk about the transformation of the capitalist society into socialist, that one must speak of the abolition of capitalist society (he identifies capitalist society with capitalism, which, especially in the given case, is wrong). It is worth while to refer to the fundamental works* in order to understand that this transformation (of capitalist into Communist society) is just this abolition of capitalism, and it is wrong to place one against the other, and can lead only to mistakes. The transition to socialism is not the act of destroying capitalism all at once, but is a more or less prolonged transitional period of the revolutionary transformation of one society into the other ("the society" is not abolished) *after* the overthrow, the abolition of the *power* of the bourgeoisie, the power of monopolist capital, and the establishment of the power of the working class, the Soviet Power.

Comrade Bittelman substitutes the English word "council" for the word "soviet". This, although the equivalent as Comrade Bittelman points out for the word "Soviet", can hardly be considered correct, when used in the slogan of soviets for the workers, saying, in English, "councils" for the workers. The word soviet has become an international one, and all the workers the world over who are fighting for Soviet Power, are fighting, in all languages under the slogan of Soviets, in order thus to emphasize the fact that it is a question of the struggle along the lines of struggle of the Bolshevik Soviets in Russia.

These are some of the shortcomings in the generally excellent article of Comrade Bittelman and can easily be rectified.

The editorial board did well to print in this number, which was also the Lenin number, the article by Lenin entitled "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution". This article is of exclusive importance for the understanding of the tactics of the proletariat. His remarks about our attitude to the struggle for reforms is of most practical importance for every Communist Party today. "We are by no means opposed to fighting for reforms. . . . We are in favor of a program of reforms which is directed *also* against the opportunists. The opportunists would be only too glad if we left the struggle for reforms to them, . . ." etc.

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* "Between the capitalist and Communist society there lies a period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other" (C.I. Program). "Between the capitalist and Communist society there lies a period of *revolutionary reconstruction of one into the other.*" (Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program.*)

Comrade Amter's article gives the members of the Party very extensive and convincing material for unmasking all kinds of plans for unemployment insurance put forward by the bourgeoisie and social-reformists as against the workers' bill for unemployment insurance put forward by the Communist Party. It is only a pity that Comrade Amter, as the leader of the Unemployment Councils, did not dwell in sufficient detail on the experiences of their struggle and the future tasks of this struggle.

Comrade Max Young's article raises the most important question of the struggle on behalf of our central slogan of Soviet Power in the U.S.A. The article is written on the basis of considerable material, and tries to reveal the weaknesses of the Party. We think, however, that Comrade Max Young was not able sufficiently satisfactorily to develop the question raised. This can be seen from the large number of inexact formulations both theoretically and in fact, as well as by a certain slovenliness to be found therein. For example, the author begins his article with the following:

> "The struggles of the American working class, during the past one and a half years of the Roosevelt administration, have attained a higher level than ever before. This is obvious both with regard to the character of these struggles and the vast numbers of workers involved."

We think that the last eighteen months or two years are distinguishable in the U.S.A. for such a widespread struggle on the part of the working class that it is a mistake to underestimate this struggle; but there is not the slightest need to exaggerate the extent of the struggle. The level and extent of this struggle has not yet reached that of the first few years that followed the war (it would have been worth while for Comrade Young to take the strike statistics, and it would have become "obvious" to him that in 1919 the number of workers who went on strike was approximately twice as many as in 1934), although as regards certain points, the struggle reached a higher level. For example, the fact that the Communist Party has grown up and is playing an incomparably bigger role in the struggles of the proletariat and as a result broader masses have risen to the understanding of their own revolutionary tasks, and also in the fact that the slogan of soviets is more popular, etc. In a word, there are several factors of decisive importance, which show that a revolutionary movement as big as that which was apparent immediately after the war, will lead to class battles of incomparably greater importance, will raise the question of power more keenly, and will become the beginning of decisive battles for power. Therefore the Communists should not overestimate the extent of the class conflicts achieved, but should at the same time see the prospects before them clearly, as the development of class battles on the eve of the second round of revolutions and wars, the round in which the Communist Parties have to play an incomparably more important and decisive part than in the first round.

By making these remarks we in no way wish to belittle the importance of Comrade Max Young's article. The article raises several practical questions like the popularization of the slogan of Soviet Power, and requires careful study. It raises the important question of how the Party today is putting forward the slogan of Soviet Power, wherein lie the shortcomings in the Party's agitation, and what tasks face us. We hope that the magazine will continue the discussion of the question raised in this article and we hope to return on another occasion to it.

Comrade Nat Ross's article on some problems of the class struggle in the South is of extremely great importance. It analyzes the economic position in the South, and development of the class struggle there, the importance of the campaign on behalf of the Scottsboro prisoners, the work of the Communist Party in the South, the growth there of fascism and the reformism, the problem of the united front in the South and the immediate tasks of the Party. The reader will see that the circle of questions raised is very wide. Without going into an analysis of these questions, we would just like to express the warmest desire that the magazine will develop as broad a discussion as possible around the problems of the work of the Party in the South and among the Negro masses in general. The Negro South, the many millions of Negro proletarians, constitute a compact, national and proletarian mass that is called upon to play an enormous role in the development of the emancipation struggle of the working class and the toilers of the U.S.A.

The magazine did well to print Comrade Stalin's work on the three fundamental slogans of the Party on the peasant question. This work is the most complete, systematic exposition of the programmatic position of our Party and of the Communist International on this question. Consequently, for the C.P.U.S.A., in the struggle for a mass Communist Party, in the struggle for Soviet Power, it is extremely important to study this programmatic document for the struggle and the winning over of the farmers as allies of the proletariat.

We must welcome the fact that the Party has seriously taken up the work of publishing a good theoretical organ. What more is required now to improve the magazine?

First, that a most serious discussion be launched on the problems facing the forthcoming Seventh Comintern Congress. Despite the noted shortcomings in Comrade Max Young's article, we welcome the appearance of such a detailed article on a question which is a central one for the Party. And the comrades must not be embarrassed by the fact that, in their articles, separate, even if serious, shortcomings may be found, but should take the most active part in discussing the problems of the Seventh Comintern Congress. The wider, the more serious, the bolder our discussion, the better we prepare for our World Congress, the higher will be its role in our struggle for world Communism. And the role of the central theoretical organs of the Party in this work is extremely important, and the role of the American Communist Party in particular. It is known that in 1929, Comrade Stalin stated that "the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is one of those few Parties, on which history placed tasks of a decisive character from the viewpoint of the development of the world revolutionary movement". This means that discussions of this kind in *The Communist* should not be limited to problems which concern only the American Communist Party, but should try also from the viewpoint of its own experiences, to bring a contribution to the store for the enlightenment of other problems which concern the whole Communist International.

Secondly, it is essential that each successive number of the magazine should unceasingly study and generalize theoretically the experiences and tasks of the Party on three or four important lines of its work, such as trade union work, strike struggles, the development of the united front, questions of political changes in the country, in particular the question of the movement on behalf of an independent policy for the masses of the working class, the question of agitation and the Party slogans, training cadres, improving methods of organizational Party

construction, in order to overcome the unstable membership and to adapt these methods to the requirements of the mass Party which the C.P. U.S.A. is already becoming. Besides this, we consider that it would be useful for the magazine to try to give leading articles devoted to the more important, individual, current tasks of the Party, as well as an analysis of current events in the development of the political life of the country, the class struggle in the country, and the prospects of its development. We think that this would help to raise the political level of the Party members, make them better able to orientate in the present political situation and thus improve the whole political work and agitation of the Party which is so necessary today.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is stepping out on to the broad road of a mass Communist Party. Such a Party should have a theoretical organ worthy of its world historic tasks. The number under review shows that the Party is making serious achievements in this direction.

Because of lack of space the continuation of "The Communist Party of France in the Struggle for the United Front", by Maurice Thorez, which started in No. 5 of THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, *will be published in the next issue.*—ED.

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